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BY

S. M. MITRA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF

SIR JOHN HALL

M.D., K.C.B., F.R.C.S.

SIR JOHN HALL, M.D., K.C.B., F.R.C.S.

Frontispiece.

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BY

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1911

TO

MRS. SIMPSON

THIS BIOGRAPHY OF HER FATHER

IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH many years have rolled by since Sir John Hall joined the great majority, his fellow-countrymen will, perhaps, find interest in a career which connects such landmarks in their history as Waterloo and the Crimean War.

When, in 1895, Mr. F. H. Skrine, author of *Fontenoy*, and then a member of the Indian Civil Service, wrote the Biography of a well-known Hindu,* I wondered whether it would ever fall to the lot of a Hindu to return the compliment by publishing the life-story of a distinguished Englishman. I was, therefore, disposed to comply with the request made by Mrs. Simpson, daughter of Sir John Hall, that I should become his biographer, although I felt considerable diffidence in undertaking the responsibility. It was no easy task to decipher faded manuscripts, some of which were so badly disfigured with age that I had to hold the reverse side of the fragile paper against a mirror before I could discover their meaning. Illegible proper names, too, had to be verified by

* *An Indian Journalist*, Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.

reference to other works. As Sir John Hall's life-drama was enacted on an extensive stage, which included Waterloo and Brussels (where he met his famous contemporary, Sir Walter Scott), the West Indies, Spain, South Africa, India, and the Crimea, many books had to be consulted in order to render the Biography accurate as well as readable. But the desire to do what an Englishman had done for an Indian has made my labour one of pleasure.

In recording the career of a man who had been concerned in important public affairs, I was much struck by two salient points, one of which relates to the community, the other to the individual. The want of adequate foresight and preparation on the part of the nation for a contest, not only with powerful and determined foes, but with the relentless forces of Nature and climate, and the lightheartedness with which the combat was approached, are, in the retrospect, truly marvellous. This defect of unpreparedness was again seen in the Indian Mutiny and the recent South African War. That a nation which starts so badly should hitherto have contrived to "muddle through" to a successful issue is little short of a miracle. In the case of the individual, Sir John Hall's steady performance of duty carried him from the lowest to the highest rung on the ladder of promotion: it gained for him the appreciation

of his Sovereign and the respect of his companions in arms. Arduous and sometimes prosaic as were the services he was called upon to render, there is no symptom of any flinching or of failing to do his best—and no man can do more. His history should be a model for subalterns and others, who, standing upon the threshold of their career, think it impossible to make their way without the aid of external influence. Sir John Hall's life is an inspiring example of what can be effected by steady, independent effort, unsupported by patronage or by wealth.

Volumes have been written on the Medical Department in the Crimea, but this book represents the first attempt to furnish the public with an account of its working based on the private papers of the Principal Medical Officer. The bulk of the matter given in the Crimean chapters is founded on Sir John Hall's memoranda and diaries, kept with the intention of compiling a history of his Department during the war. Failing health, however, prevented the fulfilment of the task, and it was left to his biographer forty-five years after his death to give his version to the public.

One of the portions most interesting to the general reader will probably be the correspondence between Sir John Hall and Miss Nightingale,

Organizer and Chief of the Female Nursing Establishment in the East. Unfortunately, Miss Nightingale's letters cannot be reproduced, her executor having refused to grant permission for their publication. His decision is, I think, regrettable, for Miss Nightingale's name is a household word, and her views on hospital organization in times of war possess national importance. Now that the Copyright Law is under discussion, some attempt may be made to reconcile historical and private interests in the correspondence of noted men and women. After the lapse of a certain length of time it would appear only reasonable that such official letters should become public property. Fifty-five years have elapsed since Miss Nightingale and Sir John Hall were associated in the control of the Crimean Nursing Establishment, and that lady's fame is far too well established that any new matter should mar its lustre. Attention is also invited to the fact that Miss Nightingale was just and appreciative in her estimation of the labours of Sir John Hall and the Officers under him in the Crimea. In her evidence given before the Royal Commission in 1857, and in her *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army*, drawn up in 1858 on the request of the Secretary of State for War, she is in entire agreement with Sir John

Hall. In her *Notes* she emphatically asserts: "It is well known that the Medical Staff exerted itself to the very utmost, and incurred a large proportionate mortality among its members in consequence." Both she and Sir John Hall lament the lack of foresight shown by heads of the Medical Department in England at the commencement of the war, and Miss Nightingale acknowledges the unceasing efforts made by her colleague to remedy the defects of the home management. If her official correspondence, which has been withheld, shows that she occasionally differed from him, it was merely on points of detail. I venture to hope, therefore, that her executor will undertake ere long to publish all her letters which he has now precluded me from using.

I have thought it desirable to examine some of the best of the numerous books on the Crimean War—it is impossible to consult them all—in order to ascertain how far the facts gleaned from Sir John Hall's papers are supported by other observers. For this purpose some passages have been extracted from the Biography of Mr. J. T. Delane (Editor of the *Times*), by Mr. A. J. Dasent; Mr. Kinglake's well-known work on *The Invasion of the Crimea*, and its adaptation for the use of students by Sir George Sydenham Clarke, K.C.M.G., R.E., now Governor of Bombay; from *The War*,

The Crimea, 1854-55, and *The British Expedition to the Crimea*, all by Sir W. H. Russell; *The Crimea in* 1854-1894, by General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C.; from the Biography of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then Ambassador at Constantinople; and from Surgeon-General Longmore's *Sanitary Contrasts of the Crimean War*. A passage has been inserted from Sir Alexander Tulloch's writings, which are too controversial for extended quotation; and use has been made of Mr. J. B. Atkins's recently published *Life of Sir W. H. Russell*, the *Times* war-correspondent in the Crimea, which corroborates previous accounts of the sufferings endured by the troops during the winter of 1854-55. These works reveal the rottenness of the whole system of Army Medical Administration under which England entered upon the Crimean War. Sir John Hall was then in India, and took no part in preparations; he could only make the best of the circumstances in which he found himself placed.

In conclusion, I thank Mrs. Simpson for entrusting me with the production of this volume, and that distinguished Crimean veteran, Sir R. Massie Blomfield, for so kindly writing an Introduction.

S. M. MITRA.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.
May 15, 1911.

INTRODUCTION

WHEN that well-known Anglo-Indian authority, Sir George Birdwood, introduced Mr. Mitra, in his Preface to the latter's *Indian Problems*,* to the British public as a distinguished scholar and a fair-minded and well-balanced writer, perhaps even he did not think that after a brief stay of six years in this country his Hindu friend would gain such an insight into European politics, and command such public confidence, as to rescue the memory of a Crimean veteran from oblivion after the lapse of half a century—no ordinary task even for a British-born author with all the advantages of hereditary Occidental culture and associations. For a Hindu, to whom our very language is a foreign element—to say nothing of our Western history and traditions—the undertaking would appear stupendous, if not impossible. But Mr. Mitra has surmounted every obstacle, and may now enjoy the proud distinction of being the first Hindu biographer of a distinguished

* John Murray, 1908.

Englishman. The life-story of a man who is a connecting link in our Medical Department between the hospitals of Waterloo and the Crimea is of more than ordinary interest to the British reader. The pages of our history may be searched in vain for two names more heart-stirring to the Englishman than those of Waterloo and the Crimea, while the fact that a Hindu is the biographer adds a vivid touch of true Imperialism to the volume which very few works can claim.

One who has been through the whole of the Crimean campaign need make no apology for writing a Foreword to the Life of a prominent Crimean Officer. But that is not my only reason for associating my name with this work. In these days, I am afraid, we think much of material ties as connecting links of Imperialism, but after all, the sentimental bond, especially with our Oriental fellow-subjects, is far stronger than anything we can possibly substitute. Those who, like myself, have lived long in the East will at once feel the force of what I say. Sentiment has a kind of divine alchemy which unites nations as well as individuals, and therefore to the true Imperialist this volume represents more than the biography of Sir John Hall. Mr. Mitra, I believe, was first made known to the British public by the *Graphic**

* May 9, 1903.

in connection with the entertainment of the Indian Mutiny veterans which he gave at Delhi during the Coronation Durbar of 1903. That was his first great attempt to bridge the gulf between the rulers and the ruled in India. His coming forward now as the Hindu biographer of an Englishman is to my mind a further endeavour on his part, in a new direction, at a real unification of East and West. As an author and regular contributor to the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly Review*, he has no doubt already made his mark, yet I am confident that this volume will show not only his intimate acquaintance with European politics, but also his wonderful power of making new things familiar and familiar things new.

Though scores of works have been published on the Crimea, I feel assured that Sir John Hall's Life will be read with much interest, if for no other reason than as supplementing the Crimean Chapters of the recently published Life of Sir John McNeill.* Such authors who, like coin, grow dear as they grow old, are generally bravely eccentric and scorn the beaten track. There is a new and in some respects a desirable departure in this volume. Sir John Hall's early life is dismissed with a few words, to make more room for

* *Memoir of Sir John McNeill*, John Murray, 1910.

his work in different parts of the world—the West Indies, Gibraltar, South Africa, India, and the Crimea. Another novel feature, which saves the reader the trouble of looking into reference books is that, as he is introduced to a particular part of our world-wide Empire, a historical résumé is given to refresh his memory and make the subsequent events more intelligible. In these days of rush not one person in twenty has either the time or the energy to search in reference books to facilitate the study of a biography. Without encroaching on the province of the Press reviewer, I may conclude by saying that the few Crimean veterans still surviving will heartily congratulate Sir John Hall's daughter on securing such a unique biographer for her distinguished father, and the Hindu gentleman on being the successful chronicler of the career of an Englishman who officially connects Waterloo with the Crimea.

R. MASSIE BLOMFIELD.

THE ROYAL NAVAL CLUB,
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February 7th, 1911.

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LIFE OF SIR JOHN HALL

CHAPTER I

EARLY SERVICE

1815—1836

It is often a dangerous thing to deviate from precedent, and in the matter of Biography it is even a difficult, as well as a daring, course to pursue. For in the preliminary pages of every "Life" of any notable individual there is one feature that publisher and reader have been so accustomed to find that the compiler almost unconsciously accepts it as an understood method of procedure —I mean a Chapter devoted to minutest details of the birth and childish exploits of the hero, with chatty, pleasant particulars concerning all his relatives on both sides of the family, the schools he attended, the prizes (if any) he gained, his precocity or inaptitude for study, his boyish pranks, and numberless items of undoubted attraction to his kinsfolk, but of little value to the world in general.

Now, this is a custom which should often be "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," and I shall therefore have the audacity to skip the invariable introductory anecdotic Chapter and shall venture to begin my account of the subject of this volume at the commencement of his actual public service, within a week after the Battle of Waterloo. And this for two reasons, one general, applying, as I think, to most Biography, the

other particular to the present instance. Firstly, we must remember that though, as Carlyle says, "Biography is the most universally pleasant, universally profitable of all reading," yet there is a danger of allowing the pleasant portion to encroach upon the profitable. The general public loves to be amused, so the temptation is great to win popularity by giving it the amusement it craves. But such gossiping anecdotes can have but little value for the serious student. Secondly, in the case of Sir John Hall in particular, who was born over a century ago, they would have less worth than usual for the general public, and there can now be but a small circle of his private friends who would appreciate such details. Nevertheless, I am conscious of owing my readers an explanation of this somewhat unusual plan.

Biography should be rather, if my view is correct, as I believe it to be, a record of a man's life in the world, and of contemporaneous matters of public moment, in which he is a participator, or of which he may be merely an observer. It will, therefore, be sufficient to mention that Sir John Hall was born in 1795, at Little Beck in Westmoreland. His father owned a farm, and his mother was Isabel Fothergill. The Fothergills are well known in Westmoreland. Like other youths of his station in life, he was sent to a neighbouring grammar-school at Appleby for his education. In due course he passed on, for his medical studies, to Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, but the circumstances of the family rendered it necessary for him to make his own livelihood as soon as possible, and, in the absence of any powerful interest at his back, to trust to his own exertions for his success in life. It will be seen that on account of continued absence from England on foreign service he was not able to take his M.D. degree at St. Andrews until 1845; later in life he was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

The year 1815, when John Hall was in his twentieth year, is ever memorable in the history of Europe.

AFTER WATERLOO: THE WOUNDED IN BRUSSELS.

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Napoleon, the enemy of mankind, escaped from Elba, and aimed at the restoration of the French Empire. Wellington and Blücher, commanding the forces of the allies, were to invade France on its north-east frontier. The campaign in Belgium took place. Near its capital, Brussels, where Wellington had his headquarters, the Battle of Waterloo was fought on the 18th of June, veritably one of the decisive battles of the world. British arms have been successful in other parts of the world, but there is no victory of which the nation has been and is more proud than this of 1815 on the battle-field of Flanders. At Waterloo Napoleon was driven in headlong flight, and the days of the French Empire were numbered. At Waterloo the British arms gained fresh prestige, the national enthusiasm rose at the triumph. But the lists of killed and wounded were long; the services of the medical profession of all grades were in great demand.

It was under these circumstances that the young John Hall entered the Army Medical Service in the subordinate position of a Hospital Assistant on the 24th of June, within a few days of the great victory, and was attached to the forces in Belgium and the general hospital at Brussels. Absorbing as his duties were, the prevailing excitement could not but stimulate his zeal for the public service. It could hardly have been foreseen that the young Hospital Assistant of 1815 would rise in forty years to the position of Principal Medical Officer of an Army, and Inspector-General of Hospitals, or that he would be made a Knight Commander of the Bath. Devotion to duty was the keynote of John Hall's success in life, as it has been in other cases. What he had to do he did thoroughly. From his early days he was known as a strict disciplinarian, and, while he insisted on others doing their duty, he did not neglect his own. In conscientious work he yielded the palm to no one.

He was employed in Flanders for the remainder of the year 1815, and returned to England in 1816, when the troops were withdrawn, the wounded recovered, and his

services were no longer required at Brussels. On the reduction of the medical establishment, which had been organized to meet the exigencies of active service, he was placed on half-pay in February, 1816. This must have been a trying time to an eager young medical man, of slender means, but it was not until the 24th of September, 1817, that he was recalled from half-pay to duty, his services being required in the West Indies. On the 2nd of November, 1817, he sailed from Deptford to Jamaica, in the hired brig *Fortitude*, Captain Farquharson, and arrived at Port Royal on the 26th of January, 1818. During the voyage, on which he kept a diary, he made friends with the master of the ship, and often discussed with him how the Caribbean Sea had been so prominent in history. In his school-days stories of the West Indies had aroused his interest. As he had read of the fabled wanderings of Ulysses and Æneas along the coasts of the Mediterranean, so he could picture to himself the movements of European adventurers on the shores of the Caribbean. The mighty ocean has been a great factor in the progress of nations and maritime cities. What would Phœnicia, Greece, Rome, or Carthage, Venice, Genoa have been without their enterprise on the sea? Spain derived some of her greatness from the possession of islands in the West Indies, in which England, among other nations, disputed her supremacy. The West Indies and the adjacent waters became the area in which the soldiers and sailors of England, France, and Holland were educated and exercised in rivalry with each other. It was in the Caribbean Sea that Rodney defeated the Comte de Grasse in 1782; in the same sea Nelson gained some of his experience. On its shores John Hall rose from the subordinate position of Hospital Assistant, and patiently qualified himself, by attention to his duties, for the time when he was called to hold offices of trust and responsibility during England's wars in South Africa and the Crimea.

The island of Jamaica, to which he was deputed, had

been discovered by Columbus for the Spaniards in 1494, but it was not conquered from them by the English until May, 1655, in the time of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, when Admiral Sir William Penn, with land forces under the command of General Robert Venables, acquired it in such a way that, on their return to England, Cromwell sent them both to the Tower. The Spanish attempt in 1658 to recapture it failed. It became the first real British colony under King Charles II.'s "Council for Foreign Plantations," and made great progress in spite of earthquakes, hurricanes, and troubles with the slaves, while slavery was prevalent, until its abolition. Troops have always been stationed there, with the necessary medical staff for their ministration. It fell to John Hall's lot to be sent there on military duty. Whether he applied for foreign service is not recorded; it is evident that he never avoided it. When he landed in Jamaica, the island had hardly recovered from the fearful hurricane of 1815, in which the streams deluged it, hundreds of houses were washed away, vessels wrecked, and 1,000 persons drowned.

Allusion has been made to the slavery which obtained in Jamaica in those days. It was still an institution in the West Indies, although the slave-trade from West Africa had been abolished by the English Parliament in March, 1807, as it also was by other nations and States about that time, both before and after. Insufficient labour for the working of the land was obtained by kidnapping the Indians from other islands. As they found their way down the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century by creeping in the shallow waters along its shores, the Portuguese had taken to kidnapping negroes, or procuring them from the Chiefs on the mainland, and shipping them to Portugal, whence negro slavery spread to Spain. The Portuguese had, by the operation of Pope Alexander's Bull of Demarcation of the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, a monopoly of this lucrative trade. Early in the sixteenth century Spain began to import

into her West Indian colonies negroes obtained from her neighbour, Portugal. In 1563-1567 the Englishman, Sir John Hawkins, made voyages to the African coast, and there obtained negroes, whom he sold in the West Indies. English Companies were formed to promote the trade, and supplied negroes to the West Indian colonies in the eighteenth century in large numbers. By various means African slaves were imported thither to satisfy the demand for labour. The profit, and not the morality, of the business was the chief point considered. The plantations required such labour and could pay for it. The negroes had been slaves in Africa for ages, so that in the West Indies their new condition was no worse than in their former state; they were generally better treated by the West Indian planters than they had been by their own countrymen. The better slaves were valuable and well cared for by their masters, the inferior slaves were subjected to hard usage. But all the slaves had to be kept under subjugation, and riots and insurrections had to be guarded against, for at times they were disposed to relapse into their savage nature, and break out against all discipline. Cruel punishments were often inflicted, according to the inhuman code of the times: runaway slaves were relentlessly pursued and fearfully punished; general risings and insurrections were not suppressed without the severest measures.

But while negro slavery was for some centuries considered essential to the working of the plantations, public opinion in England, commencing with the action taken by the Quakers against the slave-trade, was ripening against it, as being based on inhumanity, opposed to Christianity, and fraught with needless and inevitable cruelties, in the horrors of the middle passage and the subsequent treatment of the slaves. The agitation, in the hands of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other leaders, for the abolition of the slave-trade, culminated in England late in the eighteenth century, until its purpose was achieved as above mentioned. The stoppage of importation

created a deficiency of labour, which it was very difficult for the planters to meet. The missionaries in the West Indies added to the difficulties by taking the side of the negroes. The British Government interfered, and facilities were afforded to the slaves to obtain their freedom. It was settled that the Spanish slave-trade should cease in 1820, and the Portuguese from 1830. But, as the numbers of the slaves decreased, those that remained were overworked, and it became apparent that the proper remedy was to abolish the institution of slavery altogether. In 1823, while John Hall was in the West Indies, and slavery was still in force, and the plantations were dependent on slave labour, the House of Commons resolved to change the status of the slave by giving him civil rights and privileges. The slaves became aware of the current of public opinion, and gave much trouble before Dr. Hall had left the West Indies for the last time in 1832. They were not emancipated until 1833, after he had left.

In the history of England nothing has ever occurred to shock Christianity, and humanity in general, so much as slave labour. As we have seen, all the Christian world was interested in the question. It had long been agitating the minds of men, for even so far back as 1625, Grotius, the great Dutch scholar, in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, insisted on a more merciful treatment of the slave. At a time when a great humanitarian problem like emancipation was convulsing England and Europe generally, it seems almost incredible that John Hall should not have felt its force; yet such was his absorption in the duties of his profession that not a word on the subject appears in his diaries or letters—and that, too, although he was in one of the centres most affected by the movement. This fact only serves to emphasize the intense concentration with which he followed his medical career.

Hall's merits were recognized, when he was promoted to be Assistant-Surgeon to the Forces in the West Indies on the 12th of September, 1822. During his spell of ten

years of continuous foreign service, from the beginning of 1818 to the autumn of 1827, he was employed in the West Indies, where he was present and served through the whole of the two dreadful epidemic visitations of yellow fever which occurred in Jamaica in 1819 and 1825. He was thanked in departmental orders by both Dr. Adolphus and Dr. Tully, Deputy-Inspectors-General of Hospitals at Jamaica. In the former of these attacks he nearly, in his devotion to duty, lost his life from an attack of the disease—so much was not known then of its proper treatment as is known nowadays—and in the latter epidemic his health was so seriously impaired that he was compelled to return to England in 1827 for its recovery. That his services were appreciated is shown by the testimonial given to him by Dr. Jacob Adolphus, Principal Medical Officer of the Army in Jamaica, dated the 7th of August, 1825: .

"I declare that during a period of nearly thirty years spent in the Service, I have never met with a Medical Officer who devoted himself with more zeal and ability to the discharge of his professional duties than Mr. Hall, and I am sure the Director-General of the Army Medical Department will bear testimony to the favourable reports which I have frequently been enabled to make of his undeviating attention and strict correctness of conduct."

Not only his departmental superior, but the military authorities as well had a high opinion of him. Sir John Keane, who was afterwards raised to the Peerage for the capture of Ghazni and the occupation of Kabul in 1839, commanded the troops in Jamaica from 1823-1830. While he was absent on leave for a time, Lieutenant-Colonel Moffatt of the 33rd Regiment, when in temporary command of the troops in Jamaica, wrote to Hall on the 10th of May, 1825, as follows:

"In reply to your letter of the 7th inst., I feel the greatest satisfaction in stating that I always held your

character as a Medical Officer, and a correct gentleman in every respect, in the highest estimation for a period of between three and four years during which I have had the pleasure of your acquaintance ; and having an opportunity of judging more particularly on a recent occasion during the time I had the honour to command in the absence of Major-General Sir John Keane, who was on duty in the different islands in the command, when your zealous exertions for the good of His Majesty's Service were most conspicuous, and truly deserving of every praise in my power to bestow upon you."

Two years afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. Smith, Deputy-Quartermaster-General of the Forces in Jamaica, with whom Hall was subsequently to be so closely associated in South Africa, wrote on the 2nd of September, 1827, from Kingston, Jamaica, to Major-General Sir John Keane in the same laudatory terms of Dr. Hall, as he had come to be called :

" I am seldom at a loss to devise some expedient to aid a meritorious officer, but in the present instance neither he nor I can offer for your favourable consideration any specific mode of serving him further than by recommending him according to his merit in general terms to Sir James McGrigor.

" You have for some years witnessed the zealous but mild and attentive manner in which he executes his arduous duties, therefore to you I am unable to recommend him further than during the late period of sickness in which his professional abilities both as a Physician and Medical Officer have been brought most fully under my observation, and I know it will gratify you to learn, after having formed so favourable an opinion of Dr. Hall, that by his exertions upon all occasions lately he has enabled me to consider it an imperative duty to recommend him to you in the strongest terms.

" He, during the late period of sickness, was labouring under intermittent fever, but his own afflictions never

rendered him ineffective for one moment—a fact which proves more than I can express his zeal and devotion to the Service."

On the same day the same Lieutenant-Colonel Smith wrote, on behalf of Dr. Hall, to Sir James McGrigor, Director-General of the Army Medical Department:

"I have the honour to state to you, with reference to my communication to you of this day's date relatively to the lamented death of Dr. Tully, Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals, that, as His Excellency Major-General Sir John Keane is absent, and there may be some delay in the recommendation of individuals for their zealous exertions during the late afflicting sickness with which this part of the army has been visited, I consider it a duty incumbent on me as senior officer at present here to bring under your particular observation the services of Dr. Hall, Assistant Staff-Surgeon. He is, as you are well aware, a very old officer, and has been a long time in this debilitating climate. I, therefore, trust you would delay in filling up the vacancies until you hear officially from Sir John Keane, which you will, I assure you, by the next packet, and I may venture to assert you will receive a particular recommendation of Dr. Hall.

"From your knowledge of the Service, and its most active part, I feel satisfied the testimony of an officer of experience, which I may venture to consider myself, in behalf of the zealous services of one of your own Department will be received with pleasure. Permit me to recommend to your protecting influence the individual in question, Dr. Hall, and to assure you, if you can give him promotion, you will only further the interests of the Service, and reward a meritorious officer—a gratification, I am well aware, most interesting to you."

As Sir John Keane forwarded a strong recommendation of Dr. Hall on this occasion, he was promoted to the rank of Staff-Surgeon on the 8th of September, 1827, after twelve

and a half years' departmental service, and was advanced to Surgeon to the Forces on the 8th of November of the same year. On his being compelled to return to England on account of his health, Sir John Keane again showed his regard for him by writing from his headquarters in Jamaica as follows:

"I am sorry to say that we are at last obliged to part with Dr. Hall at a moment when we can but ill spare his services. His late increasing exertions, after a residence of nine years in this clime, have so impaired his constitution that a Medical Board has considered it necessary to his salvation to leave the Colony.

"I have, therefore, given him six months' leave of absence. He hopes a month in England will set him up; indeed, the voyage may, and it is his anxious desire to return as soon as re-established. In my own name, and in that of every soldier under my command, do I entreat you will permit him to return, for no man can be more esteemed than he is both professionally and personally.

"I remain in good health, but, God knows, worried by surrounding sickness and heavy losses. Dr. Hall I will recommend to your friendly notice, and he will give you a far better statement of our situation than I dare attempt."

His return to England for his health in the combatant brig *Paragon* occupied from the 15th of October to the 4th of December, 1827, when he reached Liverpool. On the recommendation of a Medical Board and of Sir James McGrigor he was granted leave of absence until June, 1828, and on its expiry he was ordered to Chatham and placed in charge of the South Hospital there. But he had been there only four months when he found himself under orders to proceed to Cork and accompany troops destined for Jamaica. On the 18th of December he embarked on board the freight-ship *Hibernia*, with detachments for the 33rd and 77th Regiments, sailed from Cork on the 1st of January, 1829, and arrived at Port Royal, Jamaica, on the 3rd of February, the same station in

which he had already served for more than twelve years. The island of Jamaica is said to be generally healthy, but at Kingston the temperature ranges from 70° to 80° throughout the year; there is much humidity in the plains. Yellow fever was in Hall's time common, as he had experienced, and devastating hurricanes are of frequent occurrence. He could, therefore, though he had desired to return to a place he knew so well, have had no particular wish to make another long stay there; but it was trying, before he had been there a month on this occasion, to receive a communication from the Medical Board directing him to prepare for half-pay on the reduction of the establishment. To England, therefore, he had to return in the brig *Nancy* in March to May, 1829, and in July was placed upon half-pay. Official ways are hard for the uninitiated to understand, and the real motives and springs of action do not always appear on the surface. There was probably some very good reason for the procedure, but it is not explained why, the very next day after he had been placed upon half-pay, he was appointed Surgeon of the 33rd Regiment (the Duke of Wellington's)—an appointment which he retained until 1841. During these twelve years the Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Moffatt and Knight, and after their deaths other officers of the Regiment testified to Dr. Hall's having performed his duties to the satisfaction of the officers and men of the corps. In November, 1829, he embarked with detachments on board the hired barque *Amelia*, and for the third time arrived at Jamaica by the end of the year. It may be presumed that on this occasion the estimation in which he was held by Sir John Keane, then on leave in London from Jamaica, had had some influence in his favour. The Major-General wrote on the 10th of July for him to Sir William Franklin, the Principal Inspector of Army Hospitals, as follows:

"I know Sir James is out of town, but I cannot resist saying to you at once that I have heard from Jamaica,

and Staff-Surgeon Short is condemned by a Board and homeward bound as quite useless. That already too small staff ought to be efficient to meet plague, and I do entreat in my own behalf, and also for the profession and community at large, that the worthy Director will allow me to have the bearer, Mr. Hall, the man of my own choice."

But this tour of foreign service was not destined to be for long, and it was really for the last time that he left Port Royal, Jamaica, with the Headquarters of the 33rd Regiment on board the *Maitland* transport, landing at Portsmouth on the 3rd of May, 1832. Throughout his extended, though not altogether continuous, service in Jamaica he gained the confidence of his superior officers and the esteem of the general public.

In the next three years, 1832 to 1835, Hall was stationed with troops at a number of places of which it is sufficient to mention the names, as service in a time of peace is much the same at one place as at another. He writes from Fort Cumberland, Gosport, Weedon Barracks, Dudley, Lichfield, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Warrington, Haydock Lodge, Manchester. In May, 1835, he embarked at Liverpool for Ireland, and served at Newry and at Dublin until the autumn of 1836, when he was ordered again on foreign service.

CHAPTER II

GIBRALTAR AND SPAIN

1836—1837

DR. HALL embarked with the Headquarters of his regiment, the 33rd, from the Cove of Cork at the end of October, 1836, on board the freight-ship *Asia* for Gibraltar, and landed there, after a fortnight's voyage (which would now take a few days only) on the 12th of November. He was destined to stay there until February, 1841.

Gibraltar, as a fortress, situated at the southern extremity of Spain, but belonging to England, had to be strongly garrisoned, though it presented little prospect of active soldiering. Its history and fame appealed to Dr. Hall. The Rock, containing the fortress, is 1,430 feet high. Under its ancient name of Calpe, Gibraltar formed, with the opposite eminence on the African coast, the Pillars of Hercules. When the Moors from Africa captured it in or about A.D. 711, it received, from the name of their leader Tarik, the designation Gebel Tarik, or Tarik's Hill, which has been easily corrupted into Gibraltar. Between 1309 (when it was first taken from the Moors, though regained by them in 1333) and 1540 it was besieged no less than eleven times. In 1704 it was taken for the British nation in the War of the Spanish Succession by a combined English and Dutch fleet under Sir George Rooke, who attacked it suddenly, and it was ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The Spaniards attacked it in vain in 1720 and 1727. One of the greatest sieges in history was the attack

made both by sea and land on Gibraltar by the combined armaments of the Spaniards and French—a siege which lasted from 1779 to 1783. The floating batteries, specially invented for the attack, and constructed at great cost, were destroyed by the red-hot cannon-shot rained down upon them from the batteries of the fortress. The defence was most ably conducted by Sir George Eliott, who was made Lord Heathfield for his victory. It has never again been attacked, and has been made impregnable. Some 6,500 troops are required to man the defences.

When Dr. Hall reached Gibraltar, the Carlist War was still raging, and the country was in a state of political commotion during the whole of his stay there. When the King of Spain, Ferdinand the Seventh, died in September, 1833, he had altered the rule of succession to the throne, so that it should operate in favour of his infant daughter Isabella, to the exclusion of his brother, Don Carlos. Isabella was acknowledged as Queen in the greater part of the country, under the regency of her mother, Maria Christina. On the return of Don Carlos from Portugal to Spain, he received some support in the Biscay Province. The English and French nominally intervened by forming a quadruple alliance to assist the Royal party in Spain, but subsequently they both refrained from active interference officially. Don Carlos was conveyed to England, but escaped and made his way back to the Carlist headquarters in Spain, where for a time his party gained some victories. The Carlist General was killed at Bilbao in 1835. A British volunteer legion was raised, under the command of Sir de Lacy Evans, to assist the Royalists, and defeated the Carlists at St. Sebastian on the 1st of October, 1836. Espartero, the Royalist commander, met with further successes. Evans and most of his English contingent left Spain in June, 1837. After some vicissitudes of good fortune and failure, the Carlists deserted their leader and made a treaty of peace with Espartero in 1839. In the same

year, after a defeat by Espartero, Don Carlos, with about 10,000 of his men, sought refuge in France, where his General, Cabrera, followed him in the subsequent year. A fierce political struggle between the several parties in Madrid ensued in 1840. Espartero made a triumphal entry into Madrid in October, whereupon the Queen Regent abdicated and left Spain, and in April, 1841, the Spanish Cortes declared Espartero regent during Isabella's minority.

While Spain was thus distracted by political conflicts, Dr. Hall was quietly performing his medical duties with his regiment in the Gibraltar Garrison to the satisfaction of his superiors, and was thanked by the Director-General of Hospitals for his Annual Report from Gibraltar up to the end of March, 1839. But, as we shall see, he was not the sort of man to neglect his opportunity of seeing something of so interesting a country as Spain and its beautiful towns and buildings within easy reach of Gibraltar.

CHAPTER III

TOUR TO GRANADA FROM GIBRALTAR

1838

In the summer of 1838 Dr. Hall took short leave, and spent the month of June on a tour to Granada, accompanied by two officers of his Regiment. His memoranda, kept in the form of a Diary, are full of varied interest and incident, and show his powers of observation and description. Even during his holidays Dr. Hall was engaged in training his mind by close observation. In these days of numerous guide-books almost anyone with ordinary education can fill up a diary, but that was not so two generations ago, in the days of which this Chapter treats. Dr. Hall's entries may be of great value to such critics as study the widely extended diffusion of knowledge that has taken place of late years. By comparing the popular notions regarding such matters of public interest one can thus gauge the rate of progress in these directions, and contrast Dr. Hall's opportunities with the modern facilities of travel and observation made with the aid of Baedeker and similar helps to the tourist. In Dr. Hall's case, however, his knowledge was all gained from personal experience and original inquiry, whereas the traveller nowadays has little to do except to verify or amplify the statements already recorded in guide-books.

"*June* 1, 1838.—Embarked at Gibraltar with Captain Lowe and Lieutenant Williamson, of the 33rd Regiment of Foot, on board the *Julia* yacht, belonging to Mr. Poulett

Thompson, a London merchant, who was proceeding with his wife, and a Mr. Clementson and his wife, on a pleasure excursion up the Mediterranean, and who offered us a passage as far as Malaga on our way to Granada.

"Had a beautiful breeze all day, but, unfortunately, no one on board ever having been at Malaga, in the evening we found that we must have passed the port many leagues, and during the whole night we had to beat to windward with a heavy head sea, which rendered the passage disagreeable, and made all the passengers very seasick, and we did not reach our destination until about two in the afternoon of Saturday the 2nd. On the boat's coming to anchor, Mr. Thompson landed to wait on the Consul (Mr. Mark) before the vessel had obtained *pratique*, which gave great offence to the quarantine officer, who came off about an hour afterwards and seemed disposed to assume as much consequence as the nature of his office invested him with. To annoy us, and keep us waiting as long as he could, he boarded a French brig first, which did not cast anchor for nearly an hour after the yacht; and, when he came alongside, he seemed deliberating how far he could carry the sense of the affront that he supposed had been put upon his office, and it was not until Mr. Thompson assured him that the error arose from ignorance of the regulations of the port, and not from any wish to give offence, that he conceded *pratique* with a bad grace.

"We landed in the afternoon, and went to lodge at Signor Salvadore's, who keeps a *casa de pupillos* near the Consul's residence, where we were tolerably well accommodated with board and lodging at the rate of 20 reals a day. Signor Salvadore is a smooth-spoken, cunning-looking little Italian, who knows a little English, and is accused—very unjustly, perhaps, poor man—of having betrayed Sir Francis Baring last year, as Sir Francis was stripped of all his property, on his way down from Granada, after having lodged at this man's house.

"Spent Sunday the 3rd in walking about Malaga, and looking at the Cathedral, which is a fine building, but unfinished, and devoid of any paintings deserving of notice. There is a fine figure in wood of a Bishop in recumbent position in one of the chapels on the south side, and a beautiful figure of the Virgin and Child in white marble, by Canova, in the chancel, which is protected from injury by a plate of glass.

"The Gibralfaro we were not permitted to enter, not having obtained an order from the Governor for that purpose. It has lately been fitted up as a prison for convicts, and is garrisoned by a small detachment of troops of the Line. In the evening the Consul and his brother accompanied us to the Retiro, a beautiful country residence, about a league and a half to the westward of Malaga, belonging to the Countess of ——, a minor. The gardens are laid out in an elaborate manner, in imitation of those at Versailles, and are supplied with numerous waterworks, which were made to play for us. The house is mean, and contains a few indifferent paintings, and one cannot help wondering what could have tempted the original proprietor—a natural son of Philip the Second—to place such a mean building in juxtaposition with the fine gardens. The prospect from it is certainly very beautiful, as it is placed on an ascent, and commands a view of the entire Vega of Malaga, terminated by the city and Gibralfaro in the east, which has a beautiful effect when illuminated by the setting sun.

"After we had wandered about the Retiro for some time, and admired its beauties, we drove to the country residence of the Prussian Consul, a large handsome house about a mile from the Retiro, where we were treated with refreshments and enjoyed the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Clements sing. Mrs. Clements is a native of Malaga, and married to a merchant of that city at present in England on business. She sings with great science, and her voice has more compass than anyone I ever heard off the stage —indeed, there are few professional singers equal to her.

Besides singing the works of the best Italian composers, she plays and sings the Sequadillos of her native place with infinite humour."

The town of Malaga was known to the Carthaginians, to the Romans as Malaca, and to the early geographers. The Berbers, under Tarik, captured it in A.D. 710. Under Arab rulers it was for a time the capital of an independent kingdom, and was described as "a Paradise on earth." It was besieged by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1487, and harshly treated. The French sacked it in 1810, and again entered it without resistance in 1823. It was the scene of political disturbances in 1869 and 1873. It was the most important seaport of Spain next to Barcelona, even before the new harbour works were undertaken, which have greatly improved the depth and the accommodation for shipping. The trade of the port consists chiefly of wine, raisins, fruit, and olive oil, the produce of the town and neighbourhood. But the great merit of Malaga is the climate, which is described as one of the mildest and most equable in Europe, not too hot in summer or too cold in winter, with a rainfall of only 16 inches. The land wind, however, is often very trying. It has acquired an increasing reputation as a winter resort, especially for invalids, has a clear sky, rarely ever clouded, and its bay is much admired. The suburbs, which had been developed to some extent before Dr. Hall's visit, have been extended farther into the country. The town itself has advanced under private enterprise and municipal administration, so that it possesses all the requirements of modern civilization. Dr. Hall might easily have said more of the amenities of Malaga.

"*Monday, June 4th.*—We started for Granada: four gentlemen on horseback, armed to the teeth, Mr. Thompson and the ladies in a coach and four, with a guard of six soldiers, which the Consul recommended him to take, but which I verily believe there was no occasion for, and provisions, ready cooked, for three days. The first day

passed without any occurrence worthy of notice, and we were all greatly delighted with the beauty of the country, and the views in our ascent to the gorge in the Sierra through which the highroad from Malaga to Loxa passes. This road is an excellent one, and has been made with great skill and care; but, unfortunately, like everything else in Spain at present, no attention is paid to it, and the injury that it sustains from the winter torrents is left without repair, and every now and then the carriage traveller comes to a part that is perilous to pass. The country is beautiful to a degree. All the hills are cultivated, and covered with vineyards to their very summits, and as you look back at different points you have the enchanting vales of Malaga and Velez Malaga spread out like a map below you, with the Mediterranean in the distance, and far, far off the dim outline of the mighty range of Atlas Mountains in Africa.

"At night, in consequence of Mr. Thompson's anxiety to push on as near as possible to Loxa, or from his misunderstanding the directions given to him by Mr. Mark, the Consul at Malaga, we passed the 'Venta Dornajos' (which is the first stage from Malaga, and the regular resting-place for the diligence and all travellers not pressed for time), and were compelled to put up for the night at a miserable Venta 2½ leagues farther on called Venta Girasol, where the ladies were subject to all the discomfort and inconvenience of a Spanish Venta of the poorest and dirtiest description. After dinner, the means for which we had fortunately brought with us, the ladies obtained mattresses and lay down, but were prevented from sleeping by the numerous tenants already in possession of the bedding, who disputed the encroachment of the new-comers even unto the shedding of blood, and were retaliated on by empalement on the points of three-pronged forks. Williamson, Lowe, and myself lay down in our coats in a dirty loft from which the fowls had just been dislodged, and were tormented by vermin until daybreak. Though deprived of sleep, we spent a merry night

laughing at our position and at the distress of our neighbours.

"The next day, June the 5th, we intended to have pushed on to Santa Fe, but were prevented from proceeding beyond the Venta Nueva by the breaking-down of the coach, which required to be sent back to Loxa, a distance of 2 leagues, to be repaired. The following morning, at daybreak, Lowe, Williamson, and myself, having hired a mule to carry our portmanteaux, started for Granada, where we arrived about ten o'clock, and put up at the Fonda de Commercio, a noisy, but upon the whole as comfortable an establishment as any of the kind in the place.

"Places worth visiting at Granada: the Cathedral and Capilla Real, where the bodies of Ferdinand and Isabella, Philip and Joanna, are deposited and shown in a vault under the floor. Over the bodies are monuments much ornamented with sculpture, and supporting marble figures of the individuals below, said to be correct representations, and considered fine specimens of art. In the body of the Cathedral are one or two good paintings, and the doorway of the transept is considered very fine. In the Sacristy are shown the rich vestments of the priesthood, one or two illuminated missals, and the standards borne by the Spanish Army when it entered Granada in 1492, as well as some taken from the Moors in the course of the war. Near the Cathedral is the Zacativ, or bazaar, which has still its Moorish aspect, and is curious to strangers who have never been in the East.

"The Hospital of San Juan di Dios should be visited, as well as the Cartiago Convent, about a mile and a half on the Madrid road, which, although private property now, retains the beautiful Sacristy, and other things worthy of notice. The College and caves on the Sacro Monte must be visited, and, if the individual be a good Christian, and have a lively faith, he will be edified by the legends of Christianity that he will hear there.

"The Alhambra and everything connected with that

celebrated place will be seen as a matter of course. A person lodging in the Alhambra, by giving the porter at the palace gate a trifle now and then, can see the place at his leisure, and can stroll in there during the heat of the day and enjoy himself very much.

" The Generalipe and Silla del Moro on the opposite hill must be visited, and all their wonders noted.

" To assist a stranger, if he can afford to remain a week or ten days at Granada, it is better to purchase a small work called *Paseo por Granada*, than to hire any of the idle, ignorant, and knavish *valets de place* whom he will find about the different Fondas. In this small work he will find explanations of all the inscriptions on the walls of the Alhambra, and correct descriptions of all the rooms.

" Several of the neighbouring Pueblos are worthy of a visit, and the Soto de Roma, the Duke of Wellington's estate, has particular attractions for his countrymen, though the house is a mean, ruinous building, and there is no place to obtain refreshments ; but the estate is rich in corn-land and wood, as the name implies, which is particularly valuable in that part of Spain. On the way from Granada to the Soto de Roma the hot baths of Elvira are passed, where the stranger may descend into the bowels of the earth and bathe if he feels inclined ; and, if he have much antiquarian lore, he may ascend the mountain near them to view the ruins of that celebrated place, where his curiosity will not have much food for gratification except in imagination, but the site will afford him a beautiful and extended view of the rich Vega beneath, which will reward him for his trouble.

" The Naciamento de las Aguas is another place worth visiting. It is a beautiful spring of crystal water which bubbles up from a large surface, and affords means of irrigation in different directions along the slopes of the hills for twelve or fourteen miles, and finally supplies with water that part of the city of Granada called Albeycin.

" The origin of the waters from the Darro to supply the

palace and gardens of the Generalipe, the palace fountains, cisterns, and gardens of the Alhambra and the greater part of the city, is deserving of a visit."

The manner of travelling described, and the state of the roads, give some idea of the disorganization of the country, and of the weakness of the administration. The discomforts of the accommodation can well be understood, as in this respect the interior of Spain leaves much to be desired in these days. Granada owes its origin to the Moors in the eighth century, and was at one time subject to the kingdom of Cordova. From 1236 it prospered greatly as the capital of a new Moorish kingdom. It is famous in history chiefly as having been the last stronghold of the Moors against the Christians. Its King, commonly called Boabdil, surrendered it to the superior forces of Ferdinand and Isabella at the end of 1491, and from thenceforth the Moors were hardly tolerated, but were often persecuted as the subjugated race. The Moors, who had done so much for Spain, were finally expelled in 1610, greatly to the injury of that country. Granada stands on the border of a rich plain, the famous Vega, and close to the beautiful snowy mountains, the great Sierra Nevada. It has been said of it that no city in Andalusia is more favoured in site or climate, and that the breezes from the snowy range make the hottest summer tolerable.

"Alhambra, which means 'a red city,' so called from the colour of its water, was commenced in the year 671 of the Hegira, or 1273 of the Christian era, under the reign of Mohamed Abu Abdalla Ben Josef Ben Ahmad Nascrita, commonly known by the name of Elgaleb Billah, or 'Conqueror for God.'

"The entrance-gate, or Gate of Justice, is situated in a tower 18 yards square. The outer arch is of a horseshoe shape, and 11½ yards to the keystone, in front of which are engraved deeply a hand and forearm. Six yards within this is another arch 3½ yards wide, of a

horseshoe form, supported on marble pillars with arabesque capitals. Over the keystone of this arch is engraved a key, and above the arch is a border a yard wide which covers the whole front, and is occupied by an Arabic inscription.

"The hand engraved over the arch had many mysterious significations amongst the Arabs. It represented strength, and was a figurative representation of the five points of their doctrines: (1) Belief in God and His Prophet; (2) Prayer; (3) Alms; (4) Fasting in Ramadan; (5) to visit the Temple of Mecca. They believed also that its representation was a protection against the enemies of the Lord, and that it could work miracles; and, by passing the thumb between the index and middle fingers, it formed a cross, which had the virtue of averting the Evil Eye.

"This superstition is continued amongst the Spaniards to the present day, notwithstanding the severe edict of Charles the Fifth and Joanna in 1526, and the symbol is worn by children, and on the frontlets of the bridles of their horses to guard against the Evil Eye.

"The key which is engraved over the arch of the door was another symbol not less important and mysterious than the hand among the Musalmans. It was the chief sign of their faith, and represented the power of opening and shutting the gates of heaven granted to the Prophet.

"The key was also the heraldic distinction of the Moors of Andalusia, and from their first arrival in Spain they commenced wearing it on their Standards and Gibbaltah—now called Gibraltar—which signifies 'mountain of entrance,' so called because it was considered the key of the door through which the ocean entered the Mediterranean, and likewise the gate that gave them entrance into Spain. Thus the key engraven over many gates in the Alhambra may be considered either as a symbol of faith or as the blazon of the Moors of Andalusia."

The account of the word "Alhambra" given by Dr. Hall does not tally with that generally accepted. He uses the word "city," which is not really included in the word "Alhambra" ("the red"), and he derives it from the water, whereas it is commonly attributed to the colour of the soil on which "the red palace" stands, or to the colour of the bricks of which the outer walls are built. He fixes its commencement at A.D. 1273, whereas other authorities place its foundation at about 1253, or its erection at various dates between 1248 and 1354. Strangely enough, he makes no allusion to the vandalism to which the beautiful building was subjected immediately after the Christians had conquered Granada in 1491-92. It was allowed to be further injured by the carelessness of the Spanish, and in 1821, not many years before Dr. Hall's visit, it was seriously affected by an earthquake. He was incorrect in giving the signification of "mountain of entrance" to the word Gibbaltah—now called Gibraltar—which, as has been previously explained, is abbreviated from Gebel Tarik, the Hill of Tarik, the Moorish conqueror. Elaborate accounts of the Alhambra may be found in books, which were not available to Dr. Hall, and he probably merely recorded such information as he obtained on his visit.

"Charles the Fifth's palace near the Alhambra is 220 feet square. It was commenced in 1537, under Alonzo Berruquele, but never finished. It has a circular court in the centre, surrounded by a corridor supported by thirty-two pillars of the Doric order, 18 feet high and 25 inches in diameter. Between the pillars are thirty-two niches for statues 2½ yards high. The pillars are of composite, known under the name of 'pudding,' or 'almond stone,' and were formed in the quarry of Turro, near Loxa. Above the cornice runs a breastwork of 5 feet in height, which serves as a pedestal for other thirty-two columns. The outer walls are ornamented with rich sculpture, but the building was never roofed

in, and many idle tales are told about it, and given as reasons for discontinuing the work.

"*June 24th.*—Engaged the coupé of Señor Manuel Quirogas' coach between myself and Williamson, and started for Malaga about 6 p.m. Arrived at the Venta Nueva about six in the morning, much bruised and galled, but without having met with any accident. Found at the Venta Sir Cavendish Rumbold and a Mr. Brown, on their way to Granada, who told us of a band of robbers which had for some time infested the roads about Antiquara. The chief of the band had been shot by a farmer two or three days before, and his body brought into Malaga for public exhibition. After the death of the leader of the band, the authorities had despatched the police and seized on two or three others, and put them in prison, and entirely dispersed the remainder. The account Sir Cavendish gave us of the death of this robber-leader was as follows:

"'It appears he had gone to a farmer's house, with whom he was acquainted, and from whom he had levied contributions on former occasions, and demanded the sum of 3,000 reals for the use of himself and his companions, threatening at the same time to shoot the poor farmer if it was not procured within a given time.

"'The farmer replied: "Three thousand reals is a large sum of money, and I have no means of procuring it. Besides, I have given you money on former occasions, and I hope you will not entirely ruin a poor man."

"'"Money I want at present—money I must have. I know you can procure it, if you have it not yourself, and if the 3,000 reals are not forthcoming to-morrow night, I'll shoot you. You know I am a man of my word, so take care."

"'"Very well, I'll see what I can do for you; but it is a large sum for a poor man to raise on such short notice, and if I fail I trust you will not be hard on me, and for the sake of my poor family I hope you will be merciful and not carry your threat into execution."

" ' " As I have already told you, I must have money at the present moment, so you would do well to exert yourself, and not trust too much to my humanity."

" ' With this admonition the ruffian departed. No sooner was he gone than the farmer put on his somara and started on foot for Malaga, a distance of nine leagues, to see the Captain-General of the Province. Having arrived there, he waited on the Captain-General, and told him his story, remarking when he had concluded: " This robber, to whom I have been obliged to give money before, is now bent on making me and my family beggars, and I am determined to shoot him, and I have come to you to know if I shall be tried and hanged for doing so."

" ' " No, my man; I'll stand between you and all harm, if you rid the community of this vagabond."

" ' The farmer, having received this assurance, trudged home again, well satisfied with his mission; and the next evening about dusk, when he saw his friend and one of his accomplices approaching his house, he fastened the door and went upstairs with his musket.

" ' The Captain of the band left his companion at a little distance from the house, and went up to the door and knocked loudly for admittance. The farmer opened the window and asked who was there.

" ' " It's I. Have you got the money? Come, be quick and open the door! I am in a hurry."

" ' " Wait a little, and you shall have all that you want."

" ' With that he fired and shot the robber through the heart. His companion, seeing what had happened to his leader, immediately fled, and the band was dispersed in a day or two by the police. This band, which consisted of twelve desperadoes under a noted leader, had kept the whole of that district in a state of alarm for many months, and no one could travel any of the roads leading to Malaga in safety.'

" At the Venta Nueva we overtook two English gentlemen, with whom we had dined the previous day

at the Fonda del Commercio, and with whom we were to have travelled down in the coach; but some disagreement with Señor Manuel, with whom they had come up two days before, and a wish to travel quicker than the coach to enable them to meet the steamer for Gibraltar, induced them to hire a *calese* and driver, and push on before us. One of these gentlemen, a Mr. Kirk, had taken liberties with Manuel's mistress, who was a passenger to Granada from the Venta Dornejos, and stirred up his hot blood and made him threaten vengeance. They had partly agreed to return in his coach, and when they changed their minds he made them pay their fare, swearing that they had prevented him from getting other passengers, although his coach was as full as it could hold. The two poor Cockneys were dumbfoundered, and amused us very much by talking about obtaining justice, as if they were in Cheapside and had my Lord Mayor to appeal to—entirely forgetting they were fortunate in escaping with whole skins, for, from what they said, I suspect Manuel was not far from putting his knife into them; and from what we learnt of him on the journey down, he was just the man to do it, without troubling his conscience much about the matter. Messrs. Kirk and Goodrich were good specimens of their class when they were away from home, and, like many more of their countrymen, made themselves excessively ridiculous when in foreign countries. They had been to Madeira, I think, and returned with many other passengers from that island to Gibraltar in a steamer. They had been over to Tangier in Barbary, where they had provided themselves with Moorish sashes and daggers which they were silly enough to wear in Granada, of all places; for there the prejudice against anything Moorish is still very strong, and a person is liable to be insulted by the rabble if he wear any part of the dress of that nation. However, our friend's visit to the Alhambra, I think, did not continue more than a day and a half, so that they had no very great opportunity of showing off

their finery. In the evening they started for Loxa, intending, as we understood, to sleep there and drive into Malaga the next day. When they arrived at Loxa, however, they changed their minds and drove on to the Venta Dorenjos, where we found them at eight o'clock the following morning, disputing about their bill, which they said was enormous for some bad bread and sour wine. The waiter's cool impudence was very amusing. He said it did not matter what they had, and, if the charge had been double what it was, they must have paid it, as they would compel them to do so. They had intended to start at five, but this dispute, luckily for them, detained them until eight. Had they started at five they would have been waylaid and robbed, as we ascertained in the evening, and the time of their departure must have been communicated to the robbers after their arrival at the Venta. Mr. Kirk told us that the driver had persuaded him, when they got to the Venta the night before, to fire off one of his pistols and let the people, as he said, know that they were armed. Poor Mr. Kirk was simple enough to do this, and in the course of the night his chamber-door was tried; but, fortunately, he had barricaded it on the inside. About eight they started for Malaga, and got in in time to proceed to Gibraltar by the steamer that evening, and to England the next day, so that they left the country without being aware of the narrow escape they had had of being robbed, and perhaps murdered.

"Two leagues from the Venta, on the road to Malaga, there is a large village called Colminar, full of robbers, and altogether a place of bad repute. As the crow flies, it is not more than three-quarters of a league from the Venta, but the carriage-road winds round the head of a ravine, and, when we reached this part of the road, two men, well-mounted, well-clad, and armed to the teeth, met the coach, drew out of the road over the ditch at its side, and beckoned Señor Quirogas to stop. He got down from his driving-seat, shook his friends by the hand,

and after some parley he desired the mules to go on, and got up behind to communicate to a gentleman in the coach, who was the French Consul at Granada, the occupation of the friends he had just met. They were two of the band which had been driven from Antiquara two or three days before by the police, both outlaws and villains who had committed several murders, and who might, as Manuel significantly said, be shot like dogs without any inquiry being made about the matter. He said they had stopped him to know why the two English gentlemen had not started at five in the morning, as they intended, and to know what had become of them. The Consul came round to the coupé to tell us this, and on our expressing surprise at Manuel's apparent intimacy with such men, he replied: 'What can you expect from a fellow who is just as bad as themselves, for it is not more than a couple of months since he himself shot a man in this very neighbourhood in cold blood! Besides, he pays a kind of toll to these fellows to let his coach run free, and there is no instance of its ever having been robbed. To be sure, not many months ago the Venta which we have just left was broken into one night, and a General Officer, who was returning from his command with a good round sum of money, robbed and carried into the hills. This made some noise at the time, and Manuel was obliged to be very circumspect; but about two months ago he quarrelled with a man, and turned him out of his farm. The man threatened to take vengeance on his oppressor, and Manuel denounced him to the authorities as a decided Carlist, and said, if the police did not assist him, he could not pursue his honest calling on the road. He was promised a party of armed police to assist him in securing the man, and away went Manuel to a small wine-house near the place where the man had taken shelter in the mountains, and desired the owner to send and let him know that he had come to make friends with him, and begged he would come to take supper with him at the wine-house. The owner

sent a person to call the man, and down he came to sup with Manuel, who had given instructions to the police to seize him when he gave them a preconcerted signal. The man, not suspecting any treachery, came down and made a hearty supper off the cold fowls, etc., that Manuel had brought with him, and was in the act of washing down the solids with a draught of wine, when in rushed the police, and Manuel said: "There's your man; seize and secure him." The poor fellow was taken aback, but after the first moment of surprise he attempted to make his escape, when Manuel levelled his gun and shot him dead on the spot. The owner of the house was so shocked at the catastrophe, and the part he had acted in it, that he took sick and died—and there is his house' (pointing to a small one by the roadside) 'shut up still. Can you therefore wonder at such a character being on intimate terms with robbers? Indeed, honest man that he passes for, he is more than suspected of being more intimately concerned with them.'"

These stories of robbers and murders and extortions and escapes, afford further evidence of the unsafe state of the country. Dr. Hall and his party must have felt that they were travelling in dangerous times and localities. Life was not very secure when it could be taken so easily as in the cases recounted.

"Mr. Thompson, whose second name, like his brother's, the President of the Board of Trade, was Poulett, had letters of credit and introduction to all places where he stopped, and in consequence of the similarity of names he was generally mistaken for his brother amongst commercial men, and received great attention from them. At Malaga he procured letters of introduction to the Captain-General at Granada, and to the Governor of the Alhambra. On his arrival at Granada, finding the Fonda noisy and uncomfortable, and hearing that Washington Irving had resided some time in that part of the Alhambra called the Lindaraxa, he thought it would be a good

opportunity to call on the Governor and deliver his letter of introduction, and solicit the same indulgence that Mr. Irving had met with. The old Colonel, a polite Castilian, not understanding a word of French, and Mr. Thompson's stock of Spanish being nearly as limited, the means of converse was very scanty indeed. He, however, made out sufficient to know that the ladies were uncomfortable at the Fonda, and wished to obtain rooms in the Alhambra, and, with true Spanish ceremony and politeness, he placed his house, as the term in the country is, at their service, and immediately directed his young wife to get some rooms put in order for them. This kind intention was not understood, and Mr. Thompson construed his politeness into consent to his occupying rooms in the palace, and immediately gave orders to the porter to procure bedding, etc., from a broker in town, and the next morning the old Governor found his guests established in their new quarters. Of course, he saw there was some mistake in the business, and, like a gentleman, he called to make excuses for their discomfort, and beg them to accept his hospitality, which was as politely refused by the ladies, whose great ambition was to reside in the Alhambra.

"The Hall of the Ambassadors was the place set apart as a dining-room, and Lowe, Williamson, and myself, who had taken lodgings near the palace, joined our dinner to theirs, and we had three or four very merry meetings.

"During the few days Mr. Thompson resided there a Sunday intervened, and a Mr. Edwards, a clergyman from Trentham, in Staffordshire, who was travelling for his amusement, having joined our party, we had the Protestant Church Service read in the chapel of the palace. This chapel was formerly the Moorish mosque. When the Spaniards conquered Granada in 1492, it was purified by the clergy and converted into a Royal Chapel for the Catholic Service, and I fancy, if it were known that the heretical doctrines of the Church of England had been read in it, it would be thought to require as

much purification as when the place was first taken from the Moors.

"The residence of Mr. Thompson in the Alhambra was quite a mistake, because several parties who visited the place afterwards during our stay were refused permission to lunch even in the place, and were compelled to resort to the porter's lodge.

"Speaking of Mr. Thompson, I saw in an English paper, about twelve months after the period I am speaking of, that he was drowned near Marlow by the upsetting of a pleasure-boat in which he, his wife, and friend were rowing. The boat, it appears, was carried over one of the weirs in the river and upset, and it was in attempting to save his wife that Mr. Thompson, who was an expert swimmer, was drowned. Mrs. Thompson was rescued by the aid of some persons on shore, but Mr. Thompson and his friend were drowned.

"*From Malaga to Gibraltar.*—Williamson and myself rode along the seashore, the most fatiguing and uninteresting journey I ever made, and one I would not recommend anyone to undertake, unless, like ourselves, pressed for time.

"Granada in 1787 contained 10,041 houses, 4,195 clergy, and 66,200 inhabitants."

The population of Granada numbered 73,006 in 1887, and 75,054 in 1897, so that the rate of increase in the hundred years which admitted of comparison was not very rapid. In the days of the Moors it was stated to be half a million, probably an exaggeration.

CHAPTER IV

SPAIN: CADIZ AND SEVILLE

1839

TRIP TO CADIZ AND SEVILLE FROM GIBRALTAR

SIMILARLY, in the summer of 1839, Dr. Hall took leave of absence, and made a short excursion to the west and north of Gibraltar, as he had, in 1838, visited Malaga and Granada towards the east.

"*May 24th*, 1839.—Left Gibraltar in the Royal *Tar* steamer at 10 a.m., and did not reach Cadiz Bay until 9 p.m., when it was too late to obtain *pratique*, and we were compelled to remain on board all night. At daybreak the next morning the health officer came off and gave the vessel *pratique*, and at six I landed, with a party, and proceeded to the Fonda Viscaina in the Calle Ancha.

"The passage from Gibraltar was considered a long one, as the wind had blown from the east for some days previous, and the sea was quite smooth. The delay was accounted for by the Captain of the packet, by supposing the inset into the Mediterranean to have been stronger than usual; but, as he had no means of ascertaining this beyond the period taken by the vessel to complete the voyage, the thing is doubtful. Had there been a strong westerly wind blowing, one might have fancied an increased current, but, in opposition to an easterly one, and with a perfectly smooth sea, the thing is to me inexplicable.

"On board the steamer were a number of passengers, and amongst the rest an eccentric military gentleman who spends much of his time in travelling about from place to place in steamboats and coaches. On this occasion it was his third trip in succession in the same boat from London to Gibraltar. He is anxious to make the passage agreeable to his fellow-travellers, and the Colonel's 'What 'll you have?" is well known to anyone who has made the passage with him. His eccentric good-nature is not always appreciated, for he is really a well-informed man, and on the present occasion it was amusing to see the airs a Lieutenant of the Bengal Artillery gave himself, and the contemptuous manner with which he treated the old gentleman's advances.

"The said Lieutenant had been employed in some civil situation, and it was evident he was on very good terms with himself; he had a shrewish-looking wife, three puny children, and three native servants with him. He had brought an old landau overland with him from India, and busied himself all the morning in greasing its wheels and putting it together. The machine might be worth from £15 to £20, but it was clear the importance its possession in India had given him was uppermost in his mind, and he thought by the display to impress his fellow-passengers with a due degree of respect for his consequence. Poor man! When he reaches England I fear he will be mortified and disappointed.

"Amongst the passengers was a Lady Valsimachi, with her two daughters by Bishop Heber, whose wife she was. She afterwards married a Greek with the questionable title of Count. Colonel V., who had served in the Ionian Islands as Inspector of Militia, said he had as much right to call himself a Count as he had. However, the Count's description of his lands and castles in Greece and the prospect of becoming My Lady prevailed over all prudential feelings, and she married the handsome and wily Greek, he calculating on the enjoyment of the property, which, fortunately for them, had been

settled on the Bishop's children, and she dreaming of wealth, grandeur, and distinction in the Archipelago.

"There is a story told, but it may be scandal, of his not having money sufficient to convey his wife home, and their being detained at Ancona, or some place in Italy, until she received a remittance from her agent in London.

"Her ladyship is plain, and one can trace none of the winning softness that the Bishop's letters lead one to expect. Her two daughters, however, are nice, lively girls. I believe they are provided for by the will of their uncle, and one of them, I hear, is engaged to an officer of the 60th Rifles. They have been educated chiefly in the Ionian Islands, and were returning to England from Corfu with their mother when I saw them on board the packet.

"There was a nice old gentleman on board (a Mr. Stirling) with his son, who had been to visit Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Granada, and Gibraltar. There were two or three invalids also on their return from Madeira where they had been sent, poor people! to try the effect of change of climate. One poor creature was in the last stage of consumption, and I should think would hardly survive the voyage.

"The Fonda Viscaina in the Calle Ancha at Cadiz, which had been strongly recommended to me, did not merit the encomiums which had been bestowed on it by my friends. The room I got was bad, and the bed full of nameless insects; the table d'hôte was indifferent, and but little frequented, and I should say the whole concern might be classed as a second or third rate Spanish Fonda, which is not saying much in its praise, it must be owned. The expense is certainly not very great, 25 reals a day, and when I arrived, it is right to state, all the good rooms in the house were occupied.

"At the table d'hôte I met with a Mr. Cuthbert, who, with one or two other Englishmen, had been residing somewhere in the south of Spain to recruit his finances.

He was accompanied by two gentlemen more immediately from Paris, one of whom affected the savant, talked of Aristophanes and other authors of antiquity, and could discover no merit in his own country or countrymen. The eloquence of the French Chamber of Deputies, and of the Spanish Cortes, was contrasted with our own House of Commons, and even the celebrated Mr. Fox was accused of being incapable of correcting his own speeches.

"To show that they were travelled, they spoke French in place of English, or perhaps it was with a view of not being understood—God save the mark nowadays! Five and-twenty years ago such a piece of folly might have been tolerated, for at that time, I recollect, very few people spoke French fluently, but now almost everyone with the least pretentions to education speaks both it and some other European language.

"They were connoisseurs—had visited Florence, and seen the Venus de Medici, with which they found much fault. One thought her legs too short, and another her ankles and feet too thick!

"Mr. Cuthbert is a man of some property, or, at least, was, as I understand he has spent a great part of it, and finds it convenient to reside in Spain, where lodgings and all the necessaries of life are remarkably cheap. I have on former occasions met a Sir Cavendish Rumbold, who resides in this part of Spain for some similar reason, and there is a third, a Mr. Standish, who was compelled to quit England, I forget for what; but I recollect something about his refusing to give satisfaction to some one, and I suppose he found it convenient to quit the country. This trio is well known here, and people are not over-anxious to cultivate their acquaintance—I mean their own countrymen."

Cadiz, from its position at the extremity of a long spit of land projecting from the Isle of Leon, had for centuries a commercial prominence which it has lost. It was known as a Phœnician and Carthaginian colony, and, as Gades,

was under the Romans. It was destroyed by the Goths, and remained under the Moors until it was taken from them by the Spaniards in 1262. After the discovery of America in 1492, it regained some of its former importance as an emporium for trade between the old and new worlds. But in the sea-fighting which followed the Spanish Armada of 1588, its exposed situation involved it in disaster. It was taken by the English under Essex, and plundered in 1596, attacked again, though unsuccessfully, in 1626, and again in 1702; blockaded for two years in 1797-1799; bombarded by Nelson in 1800. A French fleet surrendered in its harbour in 1808 to the Spaniards and English. The French held it from 1823 to 1828. In later years it took a lead in political agitation: it was in Cadiz that the insurrection began with the fleet there, which resulted in the abdication of Queen Isabella. The loss of Cuba to Spain has been a severe blow to its commerce. But it should always be the port of export for the Xeres wine, as that town is only thirteen miles distant; and there are various local industries. The population now consists of about 70,000 inhabitants; at Dr. Hall's visit the number was lower.

"On landing at Cadiz, baggage undergoes a strict examination, and people who are prudent avoid taking either tobacco or any other contraband article. Notwithstanding all this, the Customs are defrauded in the most open way, and I was much amused to see the dirty clothes turned out of the Alforjas of some Spaniards who came over in the same boat with me from Gibraltar, and whose limbs and bodies I had seen swathed with contraband articles on board the boat. The operation of concealing the articles about their persons was done openly, and they seemed to laugh at the thing as a good joke, as they knew there was no fear of their being betrayed by the English. The gravity with which a muleteer from Puerta Santa Maria, whom I had seen arrive in Gibraltar two or three days previous with an ass for

Mr. Glover, a merchant of that place, drew out the different articles of dress from his wallet, and the cunning look he gave me when the Custom-house Officer expressed himself satisfied, made me laugh.

"I wonder the difficulty he had in stooping did not attract attention, but perhaps it was all well enough understood. In going out of the gate it is as well to give a peseta, which exempts your portmanteau from examination. The boatmen at Cadiz are, like their brethren in other parts of the world, very exorbitant, and it is necessary to make an agreement before you start, or you will be imposed on.

"The Consul-General at Cadiz, Mr. Brackenbury, has the character of being pompous and fond of tuft-hunting. I found him civil, which is all one has a right to expect from a person in his situation. Indeed, he was kind enough to get my passport viséd and sent to the Fonda by one of his own servants. He showed me his paintings, and I went to the Civil Hospital with him to see some sick sailors, to whom he appeared to be very attentive.

"*Sunday, May 26th.*—Visited the Cathedral, which is of white marble, but not yet finished, although it was commenced many years ago. They appear to be working at it at present, but whether it will soon be finished or not is a question that would be difficult to solve. It appears heavy to me, and the only part I admired was the dome, which is very beautiful. There are no paintings of any sort in it.

"Visited the Chapel of the Carthusian Convent to see Murillo's celebrated altar-piece, a fall from the scaffolding of which, when he was painting it, caused his death. There is also a fine painting of St. Anthony, and another of a Bishop, by the same author.

"In the evening went to the Patio to see the far-famed Gaditana belles, and was woefully disappointed.

"*Monday, May 27th.*—Proceeded to Seville in the steamboat. When bargaining at the wharf for a boat to take me off, a stoutish man in a Majo dress came up

and said : ' You are likely to be imposed on, sir, by these fellows. We have a boat here, and you can go on board with us.' I thanked him for his civility, and put my portmanteau into his boat, taking him for a mate or some person belonging to the Steam Company, which is English. When we got on board, he and his two companions got out, and I found I had just the same sum to pay I should have had had I taken a boat to myself. I made no observation further than that I should have had a boat for the same sum, which rather abashed him ; but Master Bailley, the celebrated Seville guide, is not of a nature overburthened with modesty, and he pocketed the affront.

" I found he was to accompany a party of English, and as I subsequently joined them, I felt a degree of amusement and curiosity in witnessing his little shifts. The party was a Mr. Coltman, a half-pay officer of Cavalry ; a Mr. Page, clergyman of the Church of England, son of the Dean of Westminster, and brother, I found, to Mrs. Lipscombe, the wife of the Bishop of Jamaica, whom I had met when serving there ; a Mr. Hoskin, partner, I think, in Gordon's house at Madeira, on his way to London to manage that branch of the concern ; and a young Irishman, whose name I did not hear, who had been to Madeira for the benefit of his health. Mr. Page had been at Madeira also with one of his sisters, but she had proceeded direct to England in a sailing-vessel, not having derived any benefit from the change of climate.

" We left Cadiz about eight in the morning, and arrived at Seville about six or seven in the evening, and proceeded to the Fonda de la Reyna, which can be recommended for the civility of its owner, Mr. Silva, and for the cleanliness of the whole establishment. Charge, a dollar and a half a day ; servants and boot-cleaning extra.

" *May 28th.*—Visited the Cathedral, and ascended the Giralda, from which there is a beautiful and extended view ; saw the Custodium and other finery in the Sacristia

Mayor, which they were furbishing up for the procession of the Corpus Christi on the 30th.

"Saw the Alcazar and its gardens, and visited the Cristina and Delicias in the evening, but did not see many people in the walks. Went to the opera at night, and saw the *Barber of Seville* tolerably well performed.

"*May 29th.*—Visited the tobacco manufactory, and saw the process of steeping the tobacco, that of making snuff of different kinds, and the manufacture of cigars, which occupies about 2,000 young women, all ordinary looking, and, judging from this exhibition, one would suppose the boasted beauty of the Seville women to be fabulous. In all the number collected in the long corridor where they are employed I do not recollect to have remarked a single one that could be called pretty.

"This establishment is guarded with great care, and every precaution is taken by Government to guard against plunder; but so corrupt are the underlings that the man who was sent round with us filled his breeches-pocket with a valuable kind of snuff, and friend Jean Brillez cribbed a bunch of tobacco, which he shared with his honest neighbour. Our pass to see the establishment, which it is necessary to obtain before you are allowed to enter, protected them, I suppose, from examination, if not from suspicion."

Having been the capital of Spain until Charles V. removed the Court to Valladolid, and Philip II. finally established it at Madrid in 1563, Seville is still one of the most important towns of the country. Its position on the navigable Guadalquivir, about sixty miles from Cadiz, and less to the sea, has made it a port for the trade of Southern Spain. It was known as Sephela to the Phœnicians, and was the capital of a Roman Province, was occupied by the Vandals and Goths, conquered by the Moors in 712, and latterly enjoyed considerable prosperity under them, until captured by the Christians in 1247-48, after a protracted siege. The fine Moorish

remains in Seville—the bell-tower, the Alcazar or palace, and a number of buildings—testify to its magnificence in the days of the Arab dominion. The discovery of the new world restored its splendour, but Buonaparte's invasion and the loss of trans-Atlantic possessions again dejected Seville. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is said to be in size second only to St. Peter's at Rome; it occupies the position of the great mosque of the Mohammedans. There are numerous churches and other buildings, and masterpieces by famous painters, which attract many visitors. The Royal cigar factory to which Dr. Hall refers is one of the chief local industries. A peace was signed at Seville in 1729 between England, France, and Spain. It surrendered to the French in 1810 in the Peninsular War, but was retaken by the English and Spaniards in 1812. It was besieged in the Carlist War of 1843. The remains of Columbus were brought from Havana and interred here so late as 1902. It has a population of about 150,000 inhabitants.

"*May* 30*th*.—This being the grand festival of the Corpus Christi, all Seville was afoot at an early hour in the morning. All the balconies along the line of procession were hung with damask silk, awnings were drawn over the streets, and everything done to render the ceremony as grand as existing circumstances would admit.

"At 10 a.m., after Mass, and the singular ceremony of ten boys dancing before the Custodium, the procession issued from the Cathedral, performed its prescribed circuit, and reached the same building again about twelve, where the whole space of the vast edifice was filled with people, and both the organs pealing forth at the moment the Custodium reached the nave had a grand and imposing effect.

"The immense pillars from the western grand entrance to the high-altar on each side of the nave were covered with crimson velvet, bordered with gold lace, as high as

the groins of the arches, and the western entrance was hung with the same rich material, and a richly gilt screen closed the opening when the Custodium was placed in front of the doorway. The space between the western entrance and the screen of the chancel was railed off, and formed into a temporary chancel for the occasion.

" The ceremony of dancing before the high-altar with their hats on is repeated for ten days after the Corpus Christi by the boys.

" This singular ceremony, which, I presume, is in imitation of King David's dancing before the ark, was conceded by one of the Popes to the Cathedral of Seville, as a particular privilege, to continue in form so long as the dresses lasted that were in existence when the Bull was granted. By an ingenious device this is likely to last till the end of time, or at all events so long as any importance is attached to such silly mummery, which resembles the morris-dancers in England, only in place of swords the boys use castanets; for as soon as one portion of the dress is worn out, it is replaced by the clergy by a new one.

" In the nave leading from the western entrance of the screen of the chancel, where this absurd exhibition of priestly pomp took place, is the tomb of Señor Don Hernando Colon, son of the immortal Columbus, who lies buried there. There is a Spanish inscription on the slab that covers his grave.

" Visited the Longa, or Exchange, which is a beautiful and chaste building by Juan de Herrera. The staircase is remarkably chaste, and the room where the archives of the New World are kept is framed with coloured marble, and the roof vaulted to prevent accidents by fire. In this room are kept the records of the New World from its first discovery by Columbus; and here are Columbus's own letters, which used to be shown to strangers until within the last year or two; but in consequence of some thoughtless travellers (some say English, some American) having torn some leaves out of this valuable record, it

now requires a special order from Madrid to see them. One of the depredators, we were told, was an American; the other, I am ashamed to say, was an Englishman.

"The records are arranged by years from the different Governments in South America, and seem to be in good order.

"Went to the bull-fight in the evening, and saw a *corrido* of eight bulls—one of which, with a deformed horn, killed eight horses.

"The arena is a large one, and I should think could not have contained less than 10,000 people. I was much disgusted with the exhibition, although I had seen the amusement at Ronda and Algeciras before; but Coltman could not restrain his disgust when he saw the poor horses gored and dragging their entrails round the arena.

"Went to the gardens at the Alcazar, which were on the point of being closed when we reached them. Went afterwards to the opera, and saw *Lucrezia Borgia* well performed.

"*May* 31*st*.—This day Coltman left me. His three companions went away on the morning of the 29th. He had taken his place in the diligence for Cordova, intending to proceed from thence to Granada and Malaga, but in consequence of some mistake in the Consulate his passport had been viséd for Cadiz, and as it was too late to get it altered, he was compelled to put up with the loss of half the fare he had paid, and proceed to Cadiz in the steamboat. He did not seem to relish the long, solitary ride, and I think he was not sorry to have a feasible pretext to get off the journey, even at the sacrifice of five dollars.

"I was introduced to the family of a Mr. Wetherall, a merchant residing in Seville, and his sister, a Mrs. Hopkins, invited me to come and spend the evening, having first availed herself of my professional advice for a young protégée who was labouring under duodenitis.

"Went in the evening and heard her daughter perform

part of the music of Beatrice de Tenda, accompanied by the Intendente of Customs on the violin. Mrs. Wetherall, Junior, played on the piano, accompanied by her husband on the flute. Mrs. W., the old lady, was present, and made it rather a bore by insisting on perfect silence during the musical performance. I have a great aversion to musical soirées. It is better to pay for music when one wants it than be annoyed by indifferent performance in private society.

"At these Spanish parties you get no refreshments—not so much as a glass of water—and as I do not speak Spanish sufficiently well to enjoy the conversation I shall go to no more of them.

"*Sunday, June 1st.*—Went to the Cathedral in the morning, and to a bull-fight in the evening, which disgusted me excessively, and I determined to go to no more of them. An unfortunate horse was gored desperately by a bull, and as his rider was thrown he galloped round the arena, treading on part of the intestines, and finally bursting the colon and scattering its contents around, to the delight of the brutalized spectators. The beast of a picadore made an attempt to remount the unfortunate animal, with nearly all its remaining bowels touching the ground, but a feeling of disgust being expressed by some individuals, amongst whom I could not help joining, prevented him, and the beast was dragged out of the arena.

"An unfortunate Englishman of the name of Hart—a trickster as to incombustibility—had the temerity to exhibit his feats to this sanguinary and ferocious multitude, and nearly paid the penalty of his life. His sufferings from fire did not appear sufficient to appease the cowardly ferocity of this degraded population—although I understand he had performed all that he had promised, for I had left the arena in disgust, and did not witness his exhibition—and they were on the point of stoning the poor Fire King, as he absurdly denominated himself, to death. He had been engaged for three exhibitions at

the rate of 250 dollars for each exhibition, but after this display of public disappointment he was advised to quit the place, and left on the 3rd in the steamboat for Cadiz.

"Went to the opera in the evening, and saw *Moses* performed, after having enjoyed a stroll in the Alamida, where I met Mrs. —— and her daughters, who pressed me very much to visit them. They did not attend the opera on Sundays, they said, from a feeling of propriety, which is all very proper and commendable in a country where so little reverence appears to be paid to the Lord's Day. The House was much crowded, and amongst the ladies there were some very pretty faces. I saw also some pretty women on the Patio in the evening."

Dr. Hall is not the only Englishman who has been unable to tolerate the sights afforded by a Spanish bull-fight, an amusement which appeals so keenly to the warm-blooded inhabitants of the Peninsula. As bull-fights cost large sums, they are not of frequent occurrence, but are chiefly retained as the special attractions of great Church festivals and public rejoicings on occasions of national importance. The profits of bull-fights are usually applied to the support of hospitals. Great trouble is taken in the rearing and selection of the bulls destined for the so-called sport in the amphitheatre, and no little danger attaches to the business of bringing them up from the country, collecting them for exhibition, and driving them to the arena of combat. The horses ridden by the performers in the bull-fights are such as would be in England regarded as unfit for use, and it is perhaps their little value which renders the Spaniard callous to their sufferings, for they certainly suffer terribly, and are frequently killed or have to be put out of their misery. The actual bull-fight is conducted in a manner regulated by custom, and has often been described. The bull is always destined to be killed. The spectators exhibit the utmost enthusiasm. The Spanish women, even though

familiar with the spectacle, are much affected at the moments of real danger, and are divided between their sensibility to the cruel incidents and their admiration of the courage of the performers. The young Queen of Spain, brought up as an English Princess, was, after her marriage, practically obliged to attend a Spanish bull-fight, as a concession to national prejudice, but it is generally believed that she, like other Spanish ladies, availed herself greatly of her fan in order to avoid seeing the most unpleasant scenes of the performance. The suppression of bull-fighting altogether would have the approval of other European nations, and in 1878 a Bill was presented to the Cortes begging for its abolition. But so long as it is regarded as the "national pastime," as the speciality of the country, and as such is demanded by the populace, it would be a very unpopular act on the part of any Government to endeavour to abolish the practice. It is humanity on one side, and the passion of the Spaniards on the other. It may be a question whether the popularity of bull-fighting is on the increase, as has been alleged. Dr. Hall refers to the question of the suppression of bull-fighting in his diary of June 13th.

"*June 3rd.*—Visited Santa Ponce, or the ruins of Italica, which are distant about six miles from Seville. Excavations are going on at the expense of Government, and many pieces of sculpture and mosaic have been discovered. Lately some baths have been discovered, and they appear to be laying bare the drainage of the ancient city. The amphitheatre is in a state of great preservation, and the dens where the wild beasts used to be kept for the public shows are now occupied by gipsies and other characters that it is not always safe to encounter alone. In Seville there is a museum which contains most of the curiosities that have been dug up from time to time in Italica. Italica was a Roman city, founded when the Romans had possession of Spain, and it was called Julia in honour of Cæsar's wife.

"Went to the public walk in the evening, where I met —— and her mother. —— told me she was going to the opera with her daughters, and requested I would come to her box and see her. Went to the opera in the evening, and saw *Lucia Ashton* from Scott's novel of the *Tales of my Landlord*. At the conclusion of the First Act went to pay my respects to —— and her daughters. The older lady spoke to me, but the young one looked another way, and pretended not to see me. Unable to account for such conduct, I did not protract my visit of civility, but, conceiving there might be something accidental, or, at all events, unintentional in their conduct, I thought I would make another experiment after the Second Act, and I accordingly went up to speak to one of the daughters, when she flirted her fan in my face, and looked another way. Of course, there could be no mistake after a cut so direct as that, and, not having done or said anything that I was aware of to give them offence, I dismissed the matter from my mind. I noticed, however, that there were two very pretty genteel-looking girls with them in the box, and, when the opera was over, —— stopped in the corridor to speak to me, and I walked home part of the way with them, when I discovered what I suspect was the cause of the strange conduct of the young ladies. The two girls in the box with them were the daughters of a Spanish Count or Marquis, I forget which, and, in their anxiety to be aristocratic, they cut unfortunate me. Of course, they were right in acting as they did, and as I am of a disposition not easily annoyed by such trifles, and as I neither have now, nor have ever had any ambition to mix with the aristocracy of Spain or any other country, the thing amused me very much. The only resolution I took was not to subject myself to such a public exposé again, and as I have been accustomed to a good deal of my own society, I don't feel the absolute want that some of my countrymen do when left to themselves. Besides, I derive a great deal more amusement by sitting

in the Patio of the Fonda and witnessing the manners and customs of the country.

"*Tuesday, June 4th.*—An idle day. The steamboat which left for Cadiz this morning stuck on a sandbank in the river about a league below the town, and the passengers were compelled to disembark, and a party of Irish who had been to Madeira returned to the Fonda.

"*Wednesday, June 5th.*—Visited the Civil Hospital, which is capable of containing 300 or 400 patients. There were 200 in it when I visited it. It has four medical attendants, and accommodates the sick of the garrison as well as the civil population. The military are attended by contract at the rate of 5 reals a day, which ought to be sufficient, judging from our own military hospitals, to keep the wards in better order, and make more comfortable provision for the sick. The hospital is on a grand scale, divided into squares with gardens in the centre, but only one wing has been completed.

"*Thursday, 6th.*—This morning the Irish party re-embarked in the steamboat for Cadiz. Went to the opera in the evening to see *Beatrice* performed for the benefit of the Prima Donna, but was compelled to leave the theatre at the conclusion of the Second Act on account of the heat and smell of tobacco.

"*Friday, June 7th.*—Got up at daybreak and went to walk on the boulevard near the Freanon Gate. Saw the military execution of a deserter. They have a singular and not very judicious mode of deciding the fate of a man who is to suffer when more than one are tried, and when it is not deemed expedient to make examples of them all. In place of the Court or Commandant selecting the worst character, or the one guilty of the greatest number of crimes, the culprits decide by throwing dice, and the one who has the lowest number suffers. In the present instance, judging from the wretch's countenance, I should say the lot fell on the right individual; but it might have been different, and a miscreant, after his

five or ten years' banishment to Ceuta, would have been turned loose on the community again. Five men were tried on the present occasion, and all found guilty and sentenced to death. The man who suffered, it appears, behaved himself very indecently before the Court, and when brought up he demanded if it was not for the dice he was wanted. The judge mildly remonstrated with him, and told him it was not time yet for so serious an alternative; and, when it did arise, he seized the box with an obscene oath, and threw aces, which decided his fate. The wretch then exhibited as much abject terror as he had evinced nonchalance before, and when brought out for execution his face had a bloated, livid appearance, and he scarcely seemed conscious. He walked between two priests, who were compelled to support him. A third held a crucifix before his face, on which he intently gazed; and, when he reached the square that was formed behind a building between the wall of the town and the river, he was marched round for the troops to see him. His sentence was read to him, he was made to kneel on his coffin, and while the priest was still praying aloud with him, two files of soldiers at the distance of six paces put an end to his existence at once.

"The troops then filed past the body and marched to their quarters. His death seemed to be instantaneous, for he fell forward on his face immediately the balls struck him. Only a small number of spectators, and those of the lowest order, were collected to witness the execution, and I did not hear a single pitying voice. I have since heard it is death to utter any such expression on these occasions in favour of the dead criminal. He was a deserter from the first Regiment of the line, and, so far as physical capabilities were concerned, was a fine specimen of what a soldier ought to be.

"The troops are badly fed, badly clad, and not paid at all, so that there is no wonder at their deserting, and it is necessary to make severe examples occasionally to prevent entire disorganization of the Regiments. The

garrison of Seville at present is very small: there is a squadron of Lancers; the depôt of the second Regiment of the line, about 150 or 200 strong; there is a depôt of Artillery; and the rest of the garrison is composed of Militia. There are some companies of Volunteers clad in the dress of the country, the most active and serviceable looking men I have seen in Spain. If the Government could raise 10,000 such, I'll be bound Don Carlos—that is, if they were well commanded—would not be six months in Spain.

"Went to the opera in the evening to see *Beatrice*, the last scene of which I could not stop to see last night, on account of the heat of the house aggravating my cold, and the tobacco smoke producing cough. Smoking is so general in Spain that to a person unaccustomed to tobacco it is quite a nuisance. Boys at the age of eight or ten are seen smoking their cigarillos in the streets and public places, and so common is this filthy habit that I fancy the youngest children must be initiated into it."

Dr. Hall had a great variety of things to interest him and amuse him on his visit to Seville—the antiquities, the opera, the hospital, a military execution, the troops—which must have afforded great relaxation after the monotony of garrison duties at Gibraltar. A capacity for rational enjoyment of sights and matters of interest was natural to him.

"*Saturday, June 8th.*—Passed a better night. Was dreaming all night about Constantinople. I hope it may be indicative of our going up the Mediterranean soon.

"*Sunday, June 9th.*—Went to the Patio, which was crowded with well-dressed people, amongst whom were some very pretty women, and to the opera afterwards, which was also very well attended. At the opera there is sufficient time allowed between the acts to admit of a walk in the Plaza del Duque, which is always crowded at that time of night. Here the fair votaries of Venus

exhibit their charms to the public, and some of them are very handsome. I met in my rambles with a little girl about fifteen years of age, the most perfect model of female beauty I ever saw; her shape was faultless, and dissipation had not yet destroyed the plumpness of youth; her hair was lighter coloured than that of the generality of women in Spain; her countenance was fair and eyes blue, which proclaimed her foreign extraction; and on inquiry I found that her father was English. Her nose was, if anything, a little too long, and that was the only defect I could discover. Poor Pepa! what will thy fate be eventually? At present she has all the buoyant and playful spirit of her age, which I fear she will soon lose. She plays and sings very prettily, and is altogether an interesting and amusing little companion.

"*Monday*, 10*th*.—Visited the Cathedral, and saw the Sacristia Minor, the Library, and Cahildo. In the Sacristia they have their best paintings, and in the Library is shown Columbus's original letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, announcing the discovery of the New World. A beautifully illuminated missal of Gonsalvo di Cordova's, and the Bible used by San Luis are shown by the priestly train as matters of greater interest than the foregoing! A good specimen of cut-and-thrust cavalry sword used by one of San Fernando's soldiers at the siege of Seville is also shown in the Library.

"There are portraits of all the Bishops of Seville since its conquest from the Moors, and one of Murillo painted by himself. In the Sacristia Minor is the celebrated picture of the Virgin painted on a napkin by Murillo, and a fine specimen of carving in wood of Christ on the Cross.

"*June* 11*th*.—Went to the opera in the evening and saw *Yemma*—not much company there.

"*Wednesday, June* 12*th*.—Dr. Pope, Surgeon 82nd Regiment, arrived from Cordova last night. He has made the tour of Malaga, Granada, Cordova, and Seville

in a fortnight. Bought two farthing tickets in the Spanish lottery — not that I expect to gain anything, but I am of opinion that a man is a fool not to put himself in the way of fortune occasionally, and a madman to risk on chance what will seriously incommode him if unsuccessful.

"*June 13th.*—The Duke de Nemours came by the steamer yesterday, and is staying with his suite in the Fonda. He has been to visit the Cathedral and tobacco manufactory this morning, and leaves Seville by the steamboat to-morrow. He is young and good-looking, and improved in appearance since I saw him at Gibraltar last year. This is St. Anthony's day, and there was to have been a bull-fight; but in consequence of some dreadful riots that took place on this anniversary some few years ago the authorities have prohibited it, and it is greatly to be regretted that they do not exert their authority upon all occasions to put an end to so brutalizing an exhibition. In many places the good sense of the upper classes is working the reform. I recollect when at Granada this time last year the circus was attended scarcely by any respectable people, and there were wooden tips put on the bull's horns to prevent the dreadful injuries the poor blindfolded horses are subjected to when they are free.

"Went to the opera at night, and heard the First Act of *Moses in Egypt*—a noisy piece. House much crowded and heat oppressive. Great anxiety to see the Duke de Nemours who was there with his suite in the second circle of boxes, and left the house after the Second Act.

"*Friday.*—The Duke de Nemours left this morning for Cadiz. He is travelling strictly incognito, and in the list of names given to the landlord of the Fonda was merely designated as the nephew of Mr. Boyer. The others were given as three French officers, one French naval officer and three servants.

"Poor Emmanuel, my attendant at the Fonda, who had to wait on the Prince and his party yesterday, com-

plained of the trouble they had given him, *ergo* I calculate the recompense he received was not commensurate with the expectations he had formed. Of course, the payment of all such expenses would be left to the valet or *maître d'hôtel* by the Duke, and these gentry do not always overpay their brethren of the napkin when they travel.

" The weather is becoming insufferably hot here, and I think I shall leave for Cadiz at the beginning of the week, or as soon as Dr. Pope has lionized Seville.

" *Saturday, June 15th.*—Saw the Cahildo in the Cathedral this morning, and the Casa de Pilatos belonging to the Duke de Medina Celi. It is said to be an exact imitation of the house occupied by Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem at the Crucifixion of our Saviour, but how it could have been left so perfect at the destruction of the city by the Romans as to permit the Duke to bring back with him from the Holy Wars an exact representation of it is surprising. However, there it is. The pillar to which our Saviour was bound when scourged by the soldiers, or an imitation of it, as the original is said to be in Rome; the balcony from which Pilate is said to have shown our Lord to the Jewish multitude without when they cried out 'Crucify Him! Crucify Him!' the anteroom where Peter denied our Saviour; and a small hole in the wall where the cock crew to verify our Saviour's words, 'Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice,' are all to be seen.

" The walls of the different rooms are covered with arabesque work, and the ceilings and roofs are of wood richly gilt in the Moresco fashion.

" In a small family chapel is an exact representation of the cross on which our Saviour suffered. It is much smaller than the ordinary representations of that terrible implement of punishment.

" I have no doubt that the Duke was a devout man, and during the Crusade in which he was engaged he was anxious to bring back as correct a representation as he could of the holy places he had visited, and hence has

arisen the fable of the Casa de Pilatos, got up, I have no doubt, by the Major Domo of the establishment and the porter at the gate for their own special advantage, and with the English, whose gullibility is perhaps greater than any other nation, they drive a thriving trade even at present. This place is always mentioned as one of the curiosities of Seville, and all strangers go to visit it; but the whole thing is a humbug; and beyond a tolerably large house with a garden, and some noseless Roman Emperors in the inner court, there is nothing to be seen deserving a moment's consideration. As to the representation in the chapel of the pillar to which our Saviour was bound when scourged by the soldiery before His Crucifixion, and the cross on which He suffered death, so much depends upon imagination, and a firm belief of what you witness, that to the generality of spectators they are totally devoid of interest. For everyone knows, who has read history at all, that the city of Jerusalem was besieged by a Roman army and left a heap of ruins after our Saviour's death, and how Pilate's or any other house could have existed until the time of the Crusades in its original state is a matter of impossibility. Besides, if my Biblical knowledge serve me right, it was in the house of Caiaphas the High Priest that Peter denied his Lord and Master when the cock crew. That part of the story is evidently a fiction, and the small space in the wall pointed out as the place where the cock crew makes it still more ridiculous. The place of Peter's denying Christ is at the top of the stairs, and to complete the absurdity the guide generally points to a niche in the wall which has evidently been intended either for a lamp, to light passengers down the stairs, or the image of some saint, as the position of the cock that crew. I don't exactly know the domestic economy of the Jews, or the Roman Governors of the Province at the time of our Saviour; but in a house like Pilate's, if the present one be a correct representation of it, I very much question whether cocks and hens would be accom-

modated with a roosting-place at the head of the grand staircase, and that staircase gilt in the most gorgeous manner. A balcony is shown looking over a small square where it is said Pilate showed our Saviour to the Jewish multitude and demanded what should be done with Him as he saw no fault in Him, when they unanimously cried out 'Crucify Him!'

"The magnificent—for magnificent it must have been at the time of its erection—town-residence of the Dukes of Medina Celi is built in the Eastern fashion with fountains in the courts and some of the lower rooms, extensive gardens well laid out, walls covered with elaborate arabesque work, and roofs and ceilings composed of wood richly gilt. In the corridor of the court round which the principal rooms are placed are antique statues of many of the Roman Emperors, most of which are mutilated, and over the entrance is a tolerably good one of Charles V. At the four corners are colossal statues of the heathen deities—Minerva, Ceres, etc. I must own I gave my peseta with reluctance for the sight of this absurdity. The arabesque after the Alhambra, or even the Alcazar of Seville, is too contemptible to deserve notice, and the religious juggle of Pilate can only excite a smile of incredulity from those whose faith is not particularly dominant."

The objects of interest in Seville were so numerous and worth seeing that Dr. Hall found plenty to attract and entertain him during the remainder of his brief stay in the town.

"In the evening met Mrs. Hopkins in the Christina walks, and was much distressed to hear from her of the death of poor Mr. Bell of the Medical Staff. It appears on Corpus Christi Day he was riding out with Mrs. Bell, when his horse was frightened by some boys, or by a drunken Spaniard riding furiously past him, and he was thrown on his head, and suffered concussion of the brain, I suppose, as he died in the course of the night.

"How uncertain are the affairs of this life! But a few days ago I left poor Bell in perfect health and full of expectation of succeeding to the Surgeoncy in the 60th Rifles, vacant by the death of Dr. Leigh, at whose funeral he accompanied me as mourner on the 18th of May. On the eve of receiving the reward of his long services as an assistant, he little dreamt that his end was so near, but as Scripture truly says, 'In the midst of life we are in death,' and it behoves us all to put our house in order, and so be prepared to meet the great change we must sooner or later undergo. I have no faith in death-bed repentances; as men live, so should they die, and be judged according to their past actions. Repentance is a priestly device to cozen the dying reprobate, and extract gold for ghostly promises that the shaven knave knows to be valueless. At least, I have too good an opinion of their common sense to imagine for a moment that they believe in the infallibility of such dogmas. For my own part I pray to God, when my allotted time in this vale of sorrow shall be completed, that my end may be speedy. In Jamaica I suffered all the pains of mortal agony many times over, and I have no wish to experience them again for the sake of a death-bed repentance, though God knows no one has more occasion for it than myself.

"*Sunday, 16th.*—Went with Dr. Pope this morning to visit St. John's, a small village about three miles down the river, and a convent on a hill behind it.

"The hill is crested with a high wall with projecting buttresses, said to be of Roman or Moorish construction. I should say of the latter, as they are composed of earth and gravel cemented together in the manner adopted by that singular people during their residence in Spain. That a nation so advanced in arts and sciences as the Moors were during their dominion in Spain should have relapsed into a perfect state of ignorance and barbarism is a matter of surprise, and a subject worthy of reflection.

" The indolent, ignorant, but, it must be confessed, fine animal as seen at Gibraltar, with his turbaned brow and flowing drapery, forms a striking contrast to the laborious and crouching few. The Moor seems to regard with a look of pitying contempt all around him, and is evidently unconscious of any inferiority. The truth only comes out when any of them have mixed much with Europeans. I shall never forget the disgust a young Moor expressed, who had been educated in Paris, and had just returned to Gibraltar, at being compelled to shave his head and assume the Moorish dress preparatory to visiting Fez. He was a native of Algiers, of fair complexion like a European, and had been sent to France for education when quite a boy. He intended to visit London, and I fear he would not return from thence better satisfied with his country or his own people. Perhaps he will sink back into the indolent, lascivious habits of his nation, and forget the information he has acquired in the course of his education."

The accidental death of his friend whom he had lately seen in the enjoyment of life and vigour struck Dr. Hall with great force. His reflections on the occurrence are evidently from his heart, and show what he really thought and felt, as they were recorded for no eye but his own, since he could not have foreseen that they would be published seventy years later.

" The Cathedral of Seville, which is a superb structure, and the largest Gothic cathedral in Spain, was founded in 1401 on the site of an ancient Moorish mosque, and was not completed until 1520. Indeed, it cannot be said to be finished yet, as the transept doors are unfinished, as well as the left angle of the portico.

" It measures from east to west, without including the walls or chapels, 379 geometric feet; including them, 425 feet.

" It is divided into five aisles, and measures 217 feet from north to south, exclusive of the walls and side

chapels. There are 32 Gothic pillars in the aisles, and 28 more in the walls and side chapels, which support 104 arches. The height of the arches is 96 feet, and in the cross of the transept 134 feet. Each pillar is 43 feet thick.

" The tower of the Giralda, which was built about the year 1000, is 46 feet square and perfectly perpendicular. Its former height was 250 feet, but in 1568 it was raised to 350, and surmounted by a brass figure. The ascent to its top is by means of an inclined plane so gradual that a person might ride up. Indeed, it is said the Queen of Spain was driven up in a small carriage.

" The Cathedral contains ninety windows of coloured glass, made by Arnas de Flandres, and said to have cost 90,000 ducats.

" The following are some of the most remarkable paintings to be found in the Cathedral, commencing the tour of the building from the Giralda along the north side :

" In the transept is the famous painting of Zurbaran called ' Santo Tomas,' said to be one of the best of his works. It was carried away by the French, and placed next to the ' Transfiguration,' by Raphael, in the Louvre, and of the two it is said many preferred the ' Santo Tomas ' of Zurbaran. At the peace the French were compelled to restore the picture.

" In a small dark chapel close to ' Santo Tomas ' is the picture ' La Virgen de Bilin,' by Cario. It is beautiful, and the relief is so good that it resembles a figure in wax. It is covered with glass to protect it from injury.

" In the chapel containing the Baptismal Font is the celebrated painting of ' San Antonio,' or St. Anthony of Padua, by Murillo. This is a wonderful painting. The left knee, which is bent, does not touch the ground, and you fancy you see the figure in the act of rising at the moment of inspiration.

" Above ' San Antonio ' is the ' Baptism of our Saviour ' also by Murillo.

" Over the grand-altar in the Sagrario is the celebrated painting ' San Clemente.'

" Near the western entrance of the Cathedral is ' El Angel de la Guarda,' by Murillo, said to be unfinished, but very pretty.

" Over the entrance are the good paintings ' La Navidad,' by the celebrated Luis de Vargas.

" In the chapel of Santa Ana are many beautiful paintings, among the rest Murillo's picture of a Bishop giving alms to a beggar. This is a painting of great value and beauty. Murillo himself used to speak of it as ' my Bishop.'

" ' Las Cartujos at Dinner,' by Zurbaran, much thought of, and the ' Descent from the Cross,' by Murillo, are in the chapel also.

" In the adjoining chapel of San Jose are many paintings—one of the Pope and a Carthusian Bishop, by Zurbaran, supposed to be the best of his works, and by many considered to be the best in the Cathedral. The Carthusians do not speak, or they suppose this figure would !

" ' San Cristobal,' by Pérez de Alesio, a painting on the wall of the south transept, 30 feet high, has been much and deservedly admired. As a work of art it is now much injured by time.

" In a chapel, called ' Capilea de la Senora de la Antique,' near the south transept, is a picture of the Virgin, painted on the wall, said to have been preserved there concealed during all the time of the Moors.

" This is the richest chapel in the Cathedral. The altar-piece consists of twelve pillars of jasper ; the rail before the altar is of silver, as well as forty-eight lamps that are used in the chapel. Outside the side-gate are two columns of verde-antique.

" In a small dark chapel next to this is the celebrated painting by Luis de Vargas, called ' La Gamba.' It is related of Pérez de Alesio, the Italian who painted ' San Cristobal,' that when he saw the above-mentioned

picture, which represents Adam and Eve, the patriarchs, and others, he exclaimed, 'Piu vale la tua gamba del mio san Cristofero,' alluding to Adam's right leg, which is considered perfect symmetry.

"In the Sacristia Minor is the famous painting of the Virgin and Child on a napkin, by Murillo, called 'La Servilleta.' There are other fine paintings also here, and a large crucifix with the figure of our Saviour in carved wood by the celebrated Montanos.

"The Sacristia Major contains the riches and relics of the Cathedral, the vestments of velvet, damask, with fine rich embroidery in gold and silver.

"The Custodium is a temple of silver, four yards high, divided into four stories, exhibiting the different orders of architecture, and terminating in a cupola, surmounted by a figure of Faith, the whole richly embossed and of great value. It was made by Juan de Arfe. In this Sacristia are two figures of Barro Casido, in baked clay, Santo Domingo and San Jeronimo, considered the finest works of the kind in the world.

"There are many fine paintings in this Sacristia, and opposite to the door is the far-famed 'Descent from the Cross,' by Pedro Campana, at which Murillo was wont to gaze; and when asked why he stood gazing so often and so long, he replied: 'Estoy esperando que estos Santos Varones acaben de bajar el Señor de la Bruz.'

"Near the foregoing is the martyrdom of 'San Lorenzo,' as if saying to his tormentors: 'This side is roasted; turn me on the other.'

"The two Archbishops, San Isidor and San Leandro, are considered in Murillo's best style.

"The cupola is ornamented in bajos relievos, and the arch by which you enter is adorned with all the dainties requisite for a splendid repast.

"The Cahildo, or Sala Capitular, is a beautiful oval building, paved with coloured marble. It is hung with crimson damask from the cornice, and adorned above with figures and relievos in marble. Still higher in

medallions are paintings of great merit, some by Pablo de Cespides, and eight by Murillo in his best style.

" In the chapel of Nonestra Señora de los Reyes is the Tomb of San Fernando, the King who took Seville from the Moors in 1248 ; there lie the mortal remains of the Rey Santo in a crystal coffin, with robes of State and a crown. The crimson canopy which conceals the coffin is only withdrawn two or three days in the year, when a guard of soldiers is placed around. I was there on San Fernando's own day, and had the benefit of hearing Mass and a sermon preached in his honour.

" In St. Peter's chapel, next to the above, are nine pictures representing passages in the life of San Pedro, by Zurbaran. It is considered one of the best in the Cathedral.

" The high-altar is ornamented and richly carved. The parochial candle stands at one side on a marble pedestal. It is a perfect pillar of wax, weighing 80 arobas, or 2,000 pounds of 12 ounces. A chorister climbs up a gilt iron rod, with steps like a flagstaff, and lights and trims the wax pillar.

" The grand organ is said to be the largest and most perfect in the world, not excepting that at Haarlem. It has 5,300 pipes and 142 stops, and when played on by the organist, who is a first-rate musician, the effect is very grand.

" In a small chapel outside the choir is a figure of the Virgin, the work of Montanes, with a necklace of diamonds.

" In the Hospital of La Caridad are the following celebrated pictures by Murillo :

" San Juan de Deos carrying a sick man, assisted by an angel.

" Moses striking the rock in the wilderness, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes.

" Seville measures 8,750 yards in circumference. It is walled round, and has handsome gates of two porticos, called Puerto Real, de San Juan, de la Barquita, de

Macarinam de Cordoba, del Sol, del Orsario, de Carmona, de la Carne, de San Fernando, de Cere, del Carbon, del Aceyte, del Arenal, de Triana.

"It is called the Queen of Andalusia, and is supposed to have been built by Julius Cæsar. The walls in most places retain marks of their Roman and Moorish origin, but are now falling into decay."

This mere list of the paintings to be seen in the Cathedral gives some idea of the treasures stored at Seville, which render it a place of pilgrimage for all cultivated and artistic travellers and tourists. It shows also the interest taken by Dr. Hall in matters lying so outside the avocations of his own profession as art and music.

"*Wednesday, June 19th.*—Returned to Cadiz in the steamboat, and did not reach the harbour until midnight; remained on board until morning, and then landed, and went to the Fonda de quatre Naciones, kept by a Frenchman. At such houses in Spain the men have a filthy habit of coming to meals without coat or waistcoat, and sometimes their linen is disgustingly dirty. Called at the Consul's, and Mr. Brackenbury gave us letters to Mr. Campbell at Puerta A. Maris, and to Mr. Gordon at Xeres, to see their bodegas, or wine-cellars.

"*Friday.*—Went across the Bay in the steamer to Port St. Mary's, and from thence to Xeres to see Mr. Gordon's wine-cellars, and returned to Cadiz the same evening. Mr. Gordon's cellars are all above-ground, and built in aisles like a church. Each compartment is named after some saint, so that you have the cellar of St. Joseph, etc. They are extensive, and in one cellar there are butts of wine ranged along it containing wine up to the age of fifty years. It is from these butts that age is given to wines—*e.g.*, if you write to Mr. Gordon for a pipe of ten-year-old sherry, he does not send you an entire pipe of the same vintage, but puts so many gallons of wine from the butt of fifty years old, and so on, according to the scale they have fixed on. The

quantity that is taken from the fifty-butt is replaced by a like quantity from the butt of forty-nine years old, and so on. So that the fifty-year-old butt is supposed to be always full of wine of that age. They boil down sherry to give richness and colour to the wine, and they add a considerable quantity of brandy to each pipe to increase its strength. This they make no secret of, and there is a still on the premises for the purpose of manufacturing the spirit they require for that purpose.

"Mr. Campbell we found in great affliction about his child, which was considered dangerously ill, and we met a Dr. Wilson there who had formerly been the Surgeon of the Civil Hospital at Gibraltar. He told us an amusing story of his having been once stopped and robbed by the celebrated Jose Maria and his band, when he was coming from Madrid to Seville in the diligence. He said the coach was stopped, all the baggage taken out, the Spaniards made to lie down with their faces to the ground, and the ladies marched off to a like distance, and a guard placed over them. He himself had one of the wax candles of the diligence put into his hand to light the gentlemen in their pious undertaking. He said the fellows set vigorously to work and sewed up their clothes to make sacks to carry off the plunder in, and, so long as the property of others was concerned, it was rather good fun; but when his own portmanteau came under examination, he was annoyed to see his things destroyed and taken away, and he made several observations, until at last they threatened to send him to the women if he did not keep quiet. He had a valuable set of breast-buttons for his shirts that he had purchased in Paris, and when they came to the shirt that had them in he took hold of it, and begged hard to be allowed to retain one clean shirt to make his appearance in in Seville; but Jose, who was superintending the proceedings, and perhaps suspected that the shirt contained something valuable from his anxiety to retain it. said: 'Clean linen

is what we want of all things, and I am sorry I cannot oblige you.' They next came to a dressing-case fitted up with brushes, razors, etc., which also he was anxious to preserve; but Jose observed: 'Some of my companions have not been able to get shaved for the last month, and this is the very thing we want; and really, if you persist in being so troublesome, I shall be obliged to send you away.' As it was, from the litter there was in the road, he had an opportunity of saving some articles; but they searched his person, notwithstanding his occupation of candle-bearer, and took from him a gold watch worth sixty guineas. When the work of plunder was at an end, Jose rode up to the ladies, apologized for the trouble they had been put to, wished them a pleasant journey, and rode away after his companions; no insult was offered to the women, and no violence to the men. When the diligence was stopped, the ladies were requested to alight, and asked if they had any money, watches, or jewels about their persons, and were then marched off a short distance, and a sentinel placed over them. The said Jose Maria was a man of great repute in his way in the Province of Andalusia. He was afterwards commissioned by the Government to put down his band, and was shot in an affray with them by one of his former lieutenants.

"Dr. Wilson told us another instance of his servant being robbed near his own house, which is in the neighbourhood of Xeres, and the fellows who did it, walking about in the open day without any fear of molestation by the Civil authorities, and of a third, where he himself caught some fellows driving off his pigs in the daytime. He had them apprehended by the police, and put in prison, but three or four days afterwards he met his friends in the street at large, and he was advised to let the matter drop, as he would be sure to meet with personal injury if he persevered. Such is the laxity or maladministration of justice in Spain at the present moment.

"In Seville, Cadiz, and Xeres there is a class of men who frequent the coffee-houses and gambling-houses, dress well, and seem always to have plenty of money, yet they have invisible means of support, and no one can tell how they obtain it. Robbery on the roads, and sending threatening letters to the timid are the means by which these gentry live.

"Mr. Campbell told us of a friend of his own who received a letter to deposit a certain sum in a particular part of the old bridge at the entrance to Xeres, from the Port St. Mary's side. He took no notice of it, and in a short time the same letter was repeated, with an intimation that he would do well to attend to it, as the writer wanted money, and he knew that the gentleman possessed it. To this letter the gentleman paid no attention; but in a few days he received a threatening one which made him very unhappy. The miscreant stated that they had written him two letters, neither of which he had thought proper to attend to, but if the sum named was not deposited in the place named by a certain day, they would take his child, whom they knew he was fondly attached to, from the carriage, and would murder it before his face the first time he took it out. This threat, though perhaps an idle one, worried him excessively, and he took his family to Cadiz for safety. While there he mentioned the circumstance to a friend, and asked him what he would advise him to do. 'How much did they desire you to lodge?' was his answer. 'So much.' 'Then lodge it by all means, for it will cost you double that sum to prosecute them in the courts, and give you an infinite amount of trouble and vexation into the bargain. To convince you I am not speaking unadvisedly, I will mention to you what happened to myself a few months ago. Like you, I received a letter to lodge a given sum in a certain place, which I paid no attention to. The letter was repeated two or three times. At last I received one, stating that I had been written to so often for a sum they knew I could well afford to

spare, and that if it was not ready that evening when a person dressed in a particular manner would pass my house at a certain hour to receive it, they gave me notice that my motions would be watched, and that I would be assassinated the first time I left my house after nightfall. Having now obtained some clue to the fellows, I went to the police and showed them the letters I had received. The public magistrate advised me to be in readiness at the time appointed, and he would station some of the municipal guard in the houses opposite to be ready to seize the villain. Accordingly, at the hour appointed, I took a pistol in my hand, and wrapped my cloak about me, and stationed myself at my door. Soon afterwards I saw a fellow, dressed in the manner described, skulk cautiously across the street, and come past the place where I was standing. When he passed me the first time he made the signal which it was stated in the letter he would, and on his return he did the same. When I asked him if he was the person appointed to receive the money, he said: 'Yes. Have you got it ready?' I immediately threw off my cloak and presented the pistol I had concealed under it at his head, and told him he was my prisoner, and that if he moved or cried out, I would blow his brains out. The municipal police, seeing from the houses opposite what had taken place, rushed out and took the fellow into custody, and I accompanied them to the station-house and gave my deposition, on which he was committed to prison. A few days afterwards I met my friend in the street, who smiled, and shortly afterwards I was not a little surprised to receive a citation from an attorney telling me a process had been commenced against me for illegally carrying arms, and that for a certain sum he thought he could get it accommodated for me. I was very indignant, as you may suppose, at this barefaced imposition, and perversion of all justice, and I was determined to contest the point rather than pay anything. But I found on inquiry that there was an old law which had never been

annulled, which prohibited all persons from carrying certain descriptions of arms, but those who were either noble or bore commissions in the public service, and I had to pay 20,000 reals to get the process put a stop to, which was considerably more than the sum originally demanded. So I say again, give the honest gentlemen of Xeres the money they require, and don't think of employing the police in the business.' "

These stories of highway robberies in broad daylight are further evidence of the lawlessness prevailing in Spain at the time of Dr. Hall's tours in it. Threats of assassination and the levying of blackmail indicate a condition of affairs in which life cannot have been very secure. The existence of the magistracy and police was of little avail if such proceedings could not be stopped by the executive administration.

" *Sunday.*—Visited the chapel in the Calle Rosario, and saw the celebrated carved figures. Went to hear service in the Cathedral; visited the Hospino, one of the best-conducted charities in Spain. It contained about 90 old men and women, 25 lunatics, 700 or 800 children, foundlings, and the issue of paupers. These children are educated and taught a trade. This charity would do credit to any country. It is clean and well regulated throughout.

" *Monday.*—Went to the bull-fight at Port St. Mary's, and dined with Mr. Campbell. At his table there was some sherry without brandy, which appeared to me a very nice wine, and I asked Mr. Campbell what it was. He said: 'That is sherry without brandy. In the autumn, when I am purchasing wines, if there are any particular pipes I like the flavour of, I have them put aside without brandy for my own use during the summer.' I asked if the report that sherry wines required the addition of spirit to enable them to bear a sea-voyage was true. He said: 'I think not, because I tasted some of this very wine in the Bay of Cadiz the other day, which

had been to the Pacific, and I think the voyage has improved it, so that clearly proves it can bear a sea-voyage, and a very long one too, without any injury. We are compelled to add spirit to all wines for the English market, or they would not sell, and we do not do it under any impression that a voyage would at all injure it.'

" The bull-fight was numerously attended, but was not considered a good one. I should think there must have been 10,000 people in the arena.

" Called on a Mr. Lopes to whom Mr. Glover gave me a letter of introduction. Did not receive any civility from him. Returned to Cadiz in the evening, and started for Gibraltar on the 28th in the Spanish steamer *Balior.*

" Cadiz is 7,500 yards in circumference, contains 3,740 houses, 223 streets, 34 squares, 28 churches, 39 public edifices, 5 gates, and a population of from 50,000 to 60,000 inhabitants."

CHAPTER V

WEST INDIES AGAIN

1841—1844

EARLY in 1841, while Spain was still in the throes of the political troubles to which allusion was previously made, orders were received for the 33rd Regiment to move to Barbados in the West Indies, the same part of the world as the Regiment had left so lately as 1832. Dr. Hall embarked at Gibraltar on board the barque transport No. 11, with the Regimental Headquarters, sailed on the 23rd of February, and arrived at Barbados on the 22nd of March. The Regiment was quartered in the stone barracks at St. Ann's.

When he was leaving Gibraltar for the Barbados station, Dr. Hall received the following handsome letter from Dr. Gilchrist, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, and Principal Medical Officer, dated the 1st of February, 1841 :

" I should be guilty of great injustice to you were I not, now that you are about to leave this Command, to testify most cordially to the superior manner in which you have executed all your duties while here. Perhaps this cannot be better performed on my part than by copying what I said some months ago to Sir James McGrigor, when recommending your reappointment [at the reduction of the medical staff in 1829, I, a Staff-Surgeon, was appointed Surgeon of the 33rd Regiment against my wishes, and in that inferior capacity I served

from 1829 to 1841.—J. HALL] to a Staff-Surgeoncy. 'I will beg leave to say that in every way Mr. Hall is one of the most deserving medical officers in Her Majesty's Service, and will always, I am sure, conduct himself in a manner calculated to do honour to the Department. His abilities are above an everyday order; his attention to his duty great; never needs a superintending eye; and any act of favour in meeting his wishes on this occasion cannot possibly be better bestowed.'

"I shall always be happy to hear of your welfare, and of your advancement."

About the same time he received a letter dated London, the 1st of March, 1841, from Sir Jacob Adolphus, M.D., Inspector-General of Hospitals, under whose superintendence he had served from 1818 to 1826:

"I certify that Dr. John Hall, Surgeon to the Forces, served under my immediate superintendence during the whole period that I had charge of the Medical Department of the Army in the Island of Jamaica, and I can with truth declare that on every occasion I found him an excellent and meritorious officer; zeal and activity in the discharge of his various duties, and efficiency in all branches of his profession were his characteristics, and with the manner of a gentleman he was second to none in honour and integrity."

Barbados is the most eastern of the Windward Islands in the Lesser Antilles group of the West Indies, and is about the same size as the Isle of Wight. Discovered by the Portuguese in 1600, it was taken by the English in 1605, when a ship touched there and a crew erected a pillar with the inscription, "James, King of England and this island," and since then it has always been an English possession. There were disputes between 1624 and 1629 between rival settlers on behalf of English nobles, and subsequent local quarrels between Royalists and Roundheads—reproductions of the political ani-

mosities in the old country—until in 1652 the island was taken by the officer Sir George Ayscue, commanding an expedition despatched by the Commonwealth. In 1662 the Crown assumed the Government. During the war of 1665 with Holland, the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, made an attack on Barbados, with a fleet of fourteen vessels, but he was beaten off, and the island has never since been seriously attacked. During the war with the French in the West Indies in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Barbados was, like other islands, involved, but was saved, with the other colonies, by Rodney's naval victory of 1782, from falling into the hands of the French. It was also in danger during the war with Napoleon, but was protected by British forces. With the close of the Peninsular War peace was attained. Fearful hurricanes ravaged the island in 1675, 1780, 1831, and 1898, not to mention other years. From the beginning of the settlement, the want of labour was felt, but the density of the population of the island made its regulation rather than the provision of the raw material the question in Barbados: it was supplied by slaves until their emancipation in 1834-1838. In 1844, almost the time of Dr. Hall's residence there, the total population numbered about 122,000, of whom 90,000 were negroes. The island is the headquarters of the British Forces in the West Indies. It has advanced, since Dr. Hall's sojourn there, by being made into a separate government in 1885, and the population has increased to about 200,000, mostly coloured. Sugar, including its growth and manufacture, is the main industry of the island.

Dr. Hall served in the Barbados command from March, 1841, to June, 1843. He was deputed from Barbados in the *Columbia* steamer to St. Vincent to take charge, as Principal Medical Officer, of the Medical Department in that island on the 17th of May, 1841. While he was there, yellow fever broke out in the 92nd Highlanders.

St. Vincent is one of the Windward, or Southern,

group of the West Indian Islands, under the same Governor as Granada and St. Lucia. It was taken in 1762, with the other French Caribbee Islands—when the French were driven from all their possessions in the West Indies except Hayti—at the time of Rodney's command as Admiral on the Barbados and Leeward station, and of his victories during it. It was formally ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763. The island was taken by the Caribs and the French, but restored to the English in 1783. Its size is only eleven miles by eighteen. The population now numbers under 50,000, mostly coloured, and cannot have been so large when Dr. Hall was there. It has suffered terribly from the eruptions of the volcanic Mount Soufrière, which carried devastation over a large portion of the island.

Dr. Hall left St. Vincent on leave of absence for three months on private affairs on the 17th of June, 1843, and arrived at Southampton in the ensuing month. On his departure from St. Vincent for England, the following Brigade order was issued by Colonel Sir Richard Doherty, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the troops in the island:

"FORT CHARLOTTE,
"ST. VINCENT,
"*June 17th*, 1843.

"The Colonel commanding is desirous of expressing his regret at the departure from this command of Staff-Surgeon Hall. He is very sensible how much the garrison loses in an officer of Dr. Hall's standing and merit, a gentleman so experienced and successful in his profession, and so justly esteemed in private life."

He extended his leave for six weeks, and on its termination was ordered to proceed to Dublin, where, on the 15th of December, he relieved Dr. Sinclair in the duties of the Recruiting Depôt at the Beggar's Bush Barracks. But he was not there many days before, on the 6th of January, 1844, he was ordered to proceed to London on duty.

He was directed to relieve Dr. Roe in the Recruiting Department at Westminster.

Dr. Hall was not the man to lose an opportunity of making himself more useful in his profession. During his stay in England he made the most of his leisure hours in studying and qualifying himself for greater distinction in his calling. In 1844 he was made Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and in 1845 he took his M.D. degree at St. Andrews.

When he was soliciting promotion in 1846, he obtained, in reply to his application, the following letter from Dr. Bone, Inspector-General of Hospitals, expressive of the opinion he entertained of Dr. Hall's services while employed under his superintendence in the Barbados command. The letter is dated Edinburgh, the 2nd of January, 1846.

"I have received your letter dated 29th of December, and have noticed the late promotions in the Department, and certify with great pleasure that the manner in which you performed your public duties when under my superintendence in the West Indies was altogether to my perfect satisfaction, and especially when Yellow Fever prevailed in the garrison of St. Vincent, where you were the Principal Officer, and distinguished yourself, not only by the correctness of your returns, but by the excellence of your medical arrangements, and by the service and success of your medical practice."

Dr. Hall continued to do duty in the Recruiting Department until the 24th of September, 1846, when he was relieved by Staff-Surgeon Dr. Birrell, and was ordered in the same month to prepare for service at the Cape of Good Hope. Before starting for this new sphere of duty he was promoted, on the 25th of September, 1846, after thirty-one years' service in the Medical Department, to the rank of Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals.

CHAPTER VI

A MILITARY FLOGGING

1846

In the year 1846, while Dr. Hall was holding the appointment of Staff-Surgeon, first class, there occurred a case of a military flogging at Hounslow in which a Private of the 7th Hussars stationed there, named Frederick White, received 150 lashes on the 15th of June for military insubordination. On his death, on the 11th of July following, the case attracted much attention. Dr. Hall was connected with it under the circumstances stated in the following correspondence. His report to Sir James McGrigor, Bart., Director-General of the Army Medical Department, was contained in his letter of the 11th of July:

"I have the honour to report to you that on the receipt of your order of this afternoon (dated five o'clock), I proceeded immediately to the Cavalry Barracks at Hounslow, and visited the hospital of the 7th Hussars, with Dr. Warren, the surgeon of that corps, for the purpose of seeing Private Frederick White, the subject of his letter to you of this date, whom I found in a dying state, and who expired in my presence at a quarter past eight o'clock.

"White, it appears, received a corporal punishment of 150 lashes on the 15th of June for military insubordination, which was inflicted in the usual manner, in the presence of Dr. Warren, and without any degree of severity calculated to attract more than ordinary attention. His back healed kindly, and nothing occurred to mark his case until the morning of the 6th

'instant, the day on which he was to have been discharged from the hospital to his duty, when he began to complain of pain in the region of the heart, extending through to the back and shoulder-blade, which increased in severity, notwithstanding the measures adopted by Dr. Warren for its relief, until yesterday morning, when paralysis of the lower extremities was discovered, and he died, as I have stated above, at a quarter past eight this evening. It would be difficult to give a correct opinion of the cause of this man's death without a post-mortem examination of the body, and as the circumstances of the case are peculiar and interesting, I suppose a minute one will be made by Dr. Warren, and the result reported for your information."

On the 13th of July a post-mortem examination was held on the body of Private Frederick White, late of the 7th Hussars, in the presence of Staff-Surgeon Dr. Hall, Surgeon Dr. Warren of the 7th Hussars, and Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Reid, who certified, for the satisfaction of the officer commanding the 7th Hussars, that, "having made a careful post-mortem examination of Private Frederick White, of the 7th Hussars, we are of opinion that he died from inflammation of the pleura and of the lining membrane of the heart; and we are further of opinion that the cause of death was in no wise connected with the corporal punishment he received on the 15th of June last." A medical statement of the morbid appearances was forwarded to the Director-General, but is too technical to be reproduced here.

At the Coroner's inquest, Dr. Hall gave evidence as follows:

"I am first-class Staff-Surgeon in the Army, and reside at 45, Duke Street, St. James's. I got an order from Sir James McGrigor in the evening to come down to Hounslow in the quickest time I could get here, and I arrived about twenty minutes after seven. I met Dr. Warren, the Surgeon of the Regiment, in the barrack square, and I

accompanied him at once to the hospital. Dr. Warren had written to Sir James McGrigor respecting this case, and on my arrival at the hospital Dr. Warren pointed the man out, and he expired in my presence at a quarter past eight. Dr. Warren stated that the man had received 150 lashes on the 15th of June. When he got very ill, he wrote to the Director-General to say that he wished some person to see him. He did not specify the nature of his complaint. The man had recovered from the punishment, and I took the opportunity of examining the back to see its condition. The back was quite healed. Regarding the case as one of some interest, I brought Dr. Read, the Assistant Staff-Surgeon of the district, down with me. Up to that time I had not heard of the inquest. Dr. Read made the dissection for Dr. Warren. I saw it done, and took notes of the morbid appearance as it presented itself."

Dr. Hall also put in as evidence the statement of the results of the post-mortem examination above mentioned. He had the following discussion with the Coroner, Mr. Wakley, in the course of the proceedings :

CORONER : Did you hear of the discharge of blood ? Read the extract from the medical register of the 15th of June : " Back a great deal lacerated."

DR. HALL : The skin was merely abraded ; the true skin was not cut through from flogging. I should attribute the cause of death to inflammation of the lining membrane of the heart, of the pleura, and of the left lung. There was pneumonia.

CORONER : Was the history of the case put in your possession ?

DR. HALL : What was in the register I saw.

CORONER : Have you formed any opinion as to the cause of the inflammation ?

DR. HALL : The most probable cause is the change of temperature at the time he was recovering. The weather was extremely hot towards the end of June,

and then came cold winds and rain. That was most probably the cause of inflammation of the chest. I can speak of another man, in the 7th Hussars, a Corporal, who has since died. He laboured under inflammation of the lungs, I should say, from examining him. I do not believe White died from the punishment on his back in any way.

CORONER: You were not at the concluding examination?

DR. HALL: I was prevented by your own order from attending.

CORONER: I wish to explain. Some of the jury intimated to me, at a former sitting, that it was most advisable that the medical witnesses should be as unconnected as possible with the barracks. It was thought better to send for a gentleman who had not formed any opinion as to the cause of death, and therefore had not prejudged the case, as those had who had made an examination, and had sent a report to the medical authorities.

DR. HALL: We could have done no harm by being present.

CORONER: In many cases a word may give an inclination to the mind.

DR. HALL: That would not have altered facts. No gentleman would do that.

CORONER: Were you informed that the deceased had complained the day after he was flogged of a peculiar pain?

DR. HALL: I did not hear of it. I saw the medical register.

CORONOR: I find I shall have to trouble you to come again before I charge the jury, as I should like to put some questions when you have heard the whole case. We had better now leave your examination here.

DR. HALL: I may, perhaps, be allowed to observe that I have seen a great number of men punished in the military service, and I never heard such complaints made by men as the deceased is alleged to have made.

It appears that the Coroner expressly ordered that no medical gentlemen except two whom he had desired to attend should be present. One of these wrote to Dr. Hall that there was no spinal affection discoverable in the case of Frederick White, and therefore mental depression, or some other indirect cause, was the only means of connecting the punishment with the death. Some appearance, he said, near the spine had no connection with external punishment, and had nothing to do with the spinal canal.

Dr. Hall made further inquiries as to the cause of the man's death, and obtained the following report from Dr. Warren of the 7th Hussars :

"Private Frederick White had been employed in cleaning out the dead house on Saturday, the 4th of July, but he was then apparently in a good state of health. You are no doubt aware the bottom, or floor, of that small, confined place is paved with stone, and consequently would be very damp, therefore he might have got some cold at that time, although he did not make any complaints to me until the morning of the 6th. He was also employed on that day along with several men in the hospital in assisting in cleaning the ward he was placed in. He jestingly remarked that it was not impossible for him to be the first to be put in or to require this place.

"On that day, the 4th, he did not appear the least depressed or despondent in spirits, but appeared as usual, and continued so up to the 6th of July, when he first complained to me of a heavy, dull pain in the region of the heart, but was not confined to his bed before the evening of the 7th, or morning of the 8th, when his disease assumed a different character. He received a letter from his brother in America sometime on Tuesday the 7th, and for several hours on that day he was observed by several of the men in the ward to become very despondent after reading it, and continued so for several hours.

In answer to your last question, I was placed within two or three yards when he was tied up and received his punishment. He made little or no motion with his body, and kept his breast towards the ladder without the least struggle or twisting himself, and never did I witness so little muscular efforts in all the punishments I have witnessed as I did in his case. There was no spasmodic action of the muscles of the back on either side that I could observe, and had anything of the kind taken place I must have seen it. The opinion Mr. E. Wilson has advanced is altogether one of his own making, and cannot be borne out by any pathologist.

"I assure you it will be a happy deliverance to me when the matter is ended, for you can form no idea of the torture I have suffered from beginning to last. Believe me, my dear friend Hall, and to whom I am more than indebted."

The case came before the House of Lords on the 14th of August, 1846, in connection with a petition for the immediate abolition of flogging in the Army, of which the following is a brief report:

"Earl Fortescue presented a petition unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the inhabitants of South Molton, Devon, praying for the immediate abolition of flogging in the Army. The noble Earl said he was much gratified at hearing the noble and gallant Duke the Commander-in-Chief, on a former evening, express the hope that he should live to see the day when flogging in the Army was totally abolished.

"Lord Redesdale said that, on looking at the petition just presented by the noble Earl, he found that it spoke of the death of Private Frederick White at Hounslow as having been the consequence of the flogging he had received. Now, he confessed that, having read over the whole of the evidence given upon the inquest, he had come to the opinion, and which he believed was the opinion of nearly everyone else, except those who took

the strong and violent views, both of the Coroner and the jury, with regard to the punishment in question, that there never was an inquiry conducted in a more objectionable manner than that ; and that the impression upon the mind of every fair man was this—that the evidence did not justify the verdict, and that Private Frederick White did not die in consequence of that flogging. And when he saw a Coroner acting as the Coroner did in this case, rejecting the evidence of four medical men and charging upon the evidence of one, that one being a friend of his own, and, being called upon to overturn the evidence of the four, because their evidence was not such as the Coroner wished them to give, he said that the effect might be most unjust against a person who might be accused on the proceedings of the Coroner ; and, if not noticed and reprobated now, might lead to the grossest injustice towards individuals who might be put upon their trial. If this had been the case against a person charged with murder, he asked whether that verdict would not have been most unfair ? It was because this had not been noticed in that House in the manner in which he thought it should have been, that he took that opportunity of making these remarks. With regard to the punishment of flogging itself, he regretted that the Army was not composed of such a class of persons as might enable them to do away with flogging ; but he must remark that he did not entertain that prejudice against it which he thought a great many now felt, from having their prejudices excited on the subject. It should also be recollected that of late years it had been reintroduced by the legislature for offences against the Queen's person, and had been found effective ; and, if that were the case, he did not see why it might not be equally so when properly applied, and in such a manner that no evil consequences were likely to ensue from it, as a punishment for other offences than those against the person of Her Majesty. If they were to give up any punishment because death might happen after it was inflicted,

they must give up punishing a weak person altogether, whatever his offence might be, for imprisonment had sometimes been the death of a weak person, and yet that was the mildest kind of punishment."

It is shown by Lord Redesdale's speech that the Coroner's inquest on Frederick White had resulted in a verdict that he had died in consequence of the flogging inflicted upon him, and this is corroborated by the judgment quoted below, in the case instituted by the Coroner, Mr. Wakley. This gentleman had become a Member of Parliament, and advocated the abolition of flogging in the Army. In a speech in the House of Commons he had quoted the statement of a Medical Officer that no man who had received 150 lashes had ever lived twelve months afterwards. When comments were made in the public journals on his conduct as Coroner of the case of Frederick White, he endeavoured to bring a criminal information against Mr. Cook and Mr. Healey, the publisher and proprietor of the *Medical Times*. This case came before Lord Denman on a rule calling upon the defendants to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against them, but the rule was discharged, as appears from the following judgment of the Court:

"This was a rule calling upon the publisher and proprietor of the *Medical Times* to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against them for two libels upon Mr. Wakley, the Coroner of Middlesex, which had appeared in that journal, upon the subject of the inquest holden upon Private White, of the 7th Hussars, whose death had occurred after a flogging inflicted upon him at the Hounslow Barracks, and upon whose body an inquest was held, of which the particulars have been already stated at great length in the newspapers at different times. The principal imputations contained upon Mr. Wakley in the publications complained of

were, that he had conducted the proceedings in such a manner as to procure for himself increased popular support at the approaching election for Finsbury; that, with a view to producing a particular result, he had appointed a person under his own influence to make the post-mortem examination, excluding the Medical Officers of the Regiment, and the medical gentlemen who had been appointed by the jury; and, lastly, that he participated in the post-mortem fees with Mr. Wilson, whom he had appointed to make the examination. Cause was shown recently against the rule, and, the Court having taken time to consider the case, Lord Denman now delivered the judgment. His Lordship observed that the libels complained of were coarse and violent in their nature and spirit, and that they had been circulated at a time when Mr. Wakley was conducting an inquiry of great delicacy, difficulty, and importance. The charges which they made against him were also very grave in their character, and the only question, therefore, for consideration was, whether the Coroner had, by his own conduct, disentitled himself to the extraordinary protection for which he had applied to the Court. Of all public officers, the Coroner was, perhaps, that one who most required such protection, both from the nature of his functions and the circumstances in which they were generally discharged. It was also to be observed, that in the present case the Coroner was entitled to commendation for having holden the inquest in question, and that he would have been justly liable to censure if he had not done so. It had also been properly conceded by the Counsel for the defence that his charge to the jury had been fair and temperate, and that some of the imputations made upon him in the publications complained of were unfounded, especially that of a participation in the fees. There were other charges, however, in which they persevered, and these were of an important character. An opinion had arisen that there had been some degree of misconduct in the Court by which the

sentence upon White had been pronounced, and also in the Medical Military Officers by whom he had been attended. To both these classes, therefore, but especially to the latter, the inquiry was of the greatest importance. Yet the Coroner did not call for their report, but caused a jury to be summoned, and a Surgeon to be appointed, to examine into the cause of the death. But, in order to exercise the power of such nomination, it was a condition precedent that the death should be unaccounted for by a medical person present at the time of the death. It was also necessary that the majority of the jury should have assented to the appointment of the individual. Mr. Day, the gentleman so appointed under the sanction of the jury, examined and reported that the death was unconnected with the flogging. Yet the Coroner, setting aside that report, had caused the body to be exhumed, and then appointed Mr. Wilson, an intimate friend of his own, to make a further examination, from which the other medical gentlemen were excluded. The Court could not hesitate to condemn this appointment, for, as Mr. Wakley had placed his opinions in opposition to those of the other medical men who had examined the case, he ought to have appointed, for the purposes of the post-mortem examination, some medical gentleman of known science and general reputation, and altogether free from any bias, real or supposed, from intimacy or similarity of opinion with the Coroner himself. Mr. Wakley stated that the jury had sanctioned his exclusion of the other medical gentlemen from this examination; but the Court was of opinion that the Coroner ought not to have acted upon that recommendation. The remarks which the Coroner made upon the conduct of Dr. Warren, the Regimental Surgeon, involved the intimation that that gentleman might appear as a culprit; and the verdict of the jury, besides attributing the death to the flogging, condemned the system and invoked the public to press for its abolition. It appeared to this Court that it was foreign from the duty of jurors

to introduce such topics into their verdicts, and that such a course was scarcely compatible with the sober performance of their functions. It also appeared by the affidavits that Mr. Wakley himself had taken the chair at a meeting which was convened for the purpose of endeavouring to procure the abolition of flogging in the Army and Navy, and that he had upon that occasion made some caustic remarks upon the case which had been recently before him, and that he then vindicated himself from the censures contained in the very libels of which he now complained. He had also pursued the same course in the House of Commons; and, though the Court could not with propriety take notice of what had there occurred, yet nobody could be ignorant of the fact that the proceedings of that House found their way to the public at large. The prosecutor had, therefore, taken into his own hands the redress of the injury of which he now complained to the Court. He had still further allowed the insertion in the *Lancet* of advertisements to present him with a piece of plate for his services upon the inquest. The Court felt bound to say that all this conduct gave countenance to the imputation that his zeal had affected his conduct in the inquiry, and that he was anxious to find proofs for the exposure of a system which he condemned. The Court gave Mr. Wakley full credit for the sincerity of his opinions upon military flogging—the justice of which opinions was afterwards proved by the fact that they had been adopted by the State since the period in question. But, if those opinions had influenced his proceedings as Coroner, and induced him to exclude evidence, to utter censures, and act otherwise in the manner in which he was shown to have acted in this case, he was not in a condition to call upon the Court to give, by this extraordinary proceeding, its sanction to conduct which was erroneous in itself. In the exercise of its duty and discretion the Court was, therefore, bound to decide that this rule must be discharged."

Mr. Wakley having been beaten in the criminal information case, commenced an action at law in 1848 against the same defendants for the same libel. Dr. John Hall was then at the Cape as Principal Medical Officer, and in June, 1848, he was desired to attend before the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court there to answer Interrogatories issued to him from the Exchequer Court at Westminster in the case of Wakley *v.* Healey and Cook.

At the time at which this case occurred, flogging was not only a permissible and legal sentence for military offenders, but was inflicted with some frequency and severity, and was liable to be attended with fatal results. Among Dr. Hall's papers are memoranda of two cases in the 21st Fusiliers, which occurred within his knowledge at St. Vincent in 1824. In one of them the Staff-Surgeon Elliott reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Leahey the death of Private John Miles, who received 1,000 lashes under the superintendence of Assistant-Surgeon Freer, and died within two days of exhausted nervous energy. In the other case the same Staff-Surgeon reported to the same Commanding Officer the death of Private Robert Brown, who had received 1,000 lashes, under the superintendence of the same Assistant-Surgeon, and died nine days after of mortification of the back. In these cases the post-mortem examination showed enlargement and induration of the liver from drunkenness and disease. The Assistant-Surgeon was removed from the service by the Duke of York for negligence and professional incapacity.

Public opinion was aroused, and grew strongly against the inhumanity of such punishments; and it was argued that their severity did more harm than good by brutalizing the sufferers and lowering the whole moral tone of the military and naval forces to whom it was applicable. The greater civilization of modern times rendered some change from the barbarous methods inherited from former ages inevitable, although there was a strong party which insisted on the maintenance of severe punishments as

necessary in the interests of military discipline. By degrees the more humane party prevailed and attained their object, though not immediately. In 1859 flogging in the Army was much diminished by orders; in the same year it was settled that first-class seamen were not to be flogged except after a trial, and after some years the practice was more diminished. A great change was introduced in 1868, when an amendment in the Army Mutiny Bill abolished flogging in the Army in time of peace, and soon afterwards new regulations for the Navy were issued. Attempts were made in Parliament to have flogging totally abolished, but they were unsuccessful in 1876, 1877, and 1879. In the latter year, however, flogging was reduced by the Army Discipline Act, and rendered commutable to imprisonment. Complete success was achieved by the abolitionists when the similar Army Act for 1881 totally abolished flogging in the Army, and substitutes for that punishment were introduced. Though it has always been claimed that discipline has been better maintained by gentler and more humane methods since the abolition of flogging in the Army, yet some British Magistrates even now think that the prospect of physical pain would serve as a great deterrent against crime. Mr. A. Chichele Plowden, the Magistrate of Marylebone Police Court, who evidently does not believe in "sentimentalism," has recently suggested "the cat" for murderers.* He prescribes "the cat" not instead of hanging, but to be administered before hanging:

"I am convinced from such experience as I have had of criminal courts, extending over many years, that what a man murderously-inclined really dreads is not death, but pain.

"The spectre of death, though it can always be conjured up, is too remote and shadowy to have much effect on the nerves of a man in the enjoyment of a full and vigorous health. Not so with pain. There is no imagina-

* *The Times*, December 20, 1910.

tion so dull that it cannot take in the terrors of the 'cat'; and, I believe, if such a punishment could be made part of the sentence, even without abolishing capital punishment, the deterrent effect would be unmistakable.

"I think even Crippen's courage, wonderful as it was, would have quailed on that dark and wintry morning had he known that he would have had to endure a flogging before he was hung. And had he been asked which he feared most—the physical pain of the lash or the death to follow—can anyone doubt what his answer would have been?"

CHAPTER VII

SOUTH AFRICA

1846—1847

DR. HALL embarked on the 16th of October, 1846, on board the *Lady Flora*, for the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in Table Bay on the 2nd of January, 1847. He served there from that date until 1851 as Principal Medical Officer. He arrived there in times of great difficulty and danger, when graver troubles were threatening, and soon found himself placed in a position of considerable responsibility. The expansive character of British power, when surrounded by non-European races, was about to exhibit itself again in South Africa, as it had continuously in India, in other parts of the world, and already in the Cape Colony. To the Dutch belongs the merit of having founded Cape Town in 1652, though the Portuguese were the first to round the Cape, even beyond Algoa Bay, in the fifteenth century. The Dutch gradually extended their eastern frontier until they reached the Great Fish River in 1778. The Colony was taken by the English in 1795, restored at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, again taken in 1806, and finally ceded to the English in 1814, when £6,000,000 were paid to Holland as compensation. Fighting with the natives, Hottentots, and others, began as early as 1795. The Colony extended in other directions, and eastward as far as the territory called Kafraria, the land of the Kafirs. There were wars with these people in 1811-12 and in 1819, when the Keiskamma River was made the boundary of the Colony. The Kafirs made invasions into the British settlements, devastating

the farms of the settlers, ravaging even Grahamstown in 1834, from which they were repulsed with much slaughter. In 1834 the slaves in the colony were emancipated. After another Kafir war, in 1835, the country up to the Kei River was taken over, but was subsequently restored to the Kafirs. From 1836 to 1840, when the Great Trek occurred—there had been much trekking even in the early Dutch times—a number of Dutch Boers, objecting to British rule for various reasons, among them the abolition of slavery, sold their farms in the Cape Colony, and migrated across the Orange River into native territory, while some of them crossed the Drakenberg mountains, and established themselves in Natal, from which they were dispossessed in 1842 by the English. About this time treaties were made with a number of Native States. Comparative quiet reigned for some years, though a sense of real security could never be felt while the Boers and the natives were quarrelling, and neither of them were favourably disposed to the English.

In March, 1846, a few months before Dr. Hall arrived in the Colony, there occurred an affair which, of no great consequence in itself, was sufficient to set the combustible material on the eastern frontier of the Colony in a blaze. When a Kafir named Kleintje was being conducted under escort to be tried at Grahamstown for an offence, he was rescued by a party of Kafirs, and in the affray which took place a Hottentot, who was a British subject, was killed. Sandilli and other Chiefs refused to deliver the criminals to justice. It therefore became necessary to employ force to obtain redress. This was called the seventh Kafir war. The frontier garrisons were strengthened, and steps were taken to protect the Colony from invasion. The Governor at the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, hastened up reinforcements through Algoa Bay. On the side of the Europeans fought the Fingos and certain Hottentots; against them were arrayed the Kafirs, Xosas, Gaikas, Imidanges, Galekas, Tembus. A number of disasters

occurred, and valuable lives were lost. In June, the Governor, who had himself taken the field, left Grahamstown and made his headquarters at Waterloo Bay. The regular troops were formed into two Divisions, and the burghers placed under a Commander of their own. By the end of the month the forces in the field exceeded in number any Army that had ever been engaged on the frontier, the total amounting to nearly 14,000 combatants. The mobility of the Kafirs and their knowledge of the country increased the difficulties of the English. Supplies and transport were deficient. The enemy's Intelligence Department was better than that on the English side. By degrees the Kafir Chiefs were worn down, and overtures for peace were made, while they gained time to plant their crops. Their submission was only simulated. The war was still in progress when, in January, 1847, Sir Henry Pottinger, an officer who had served with distinction in India and China, in various capacities, as a diplomatist and explorer, arrived from England to succeed Sir Peregrine Maitland as Governor, and Lieutenant-General Sir George Berkeley assumed the command of the forces. Sir Henry Pottinger was also appointed to be High Commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories in Southern Africa, adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and south-eastern frontier of the Colony. Dr. Hall was present in the campaign in Kafraria in 1847 as Principal Medical Officer with Sir George Berkeley.

Sir Henry Pottinger lost no time in proceeding to the front. He left Cape Town on the 10th of February, and reached Graham's Town on the 28th. He raised a corps of burgher volunteers, increased the Kafir police, and collected a force of Hottentots. He also detained troops, as they passed the Cape, to add to the force in the Colony, which numbered nearly 5,500 strong. Sandilli, the Kafir Chief, was proclaimed a rebel in August. He surrendered, and was detained from the 24th of October at Graham's Town as a prisoner of war.

Similar operations were undertaken against other Chiefs, Kreli and Pato: the former concluded peace with the British Government on the 17th of January, 1848, whereas Pato surrendered to Colonel Somerset on the 19th of December, 1847. It is not desirable to recount in detail the movements of the troops, or the various successes and failures which attended the operations. Sir Henry Pottinger had not time to bring the war to a conclusion before he and Sir George Berkeley received appointments in India, and vacated their respective appointments at the Cape in December, 1847. Sir Henry Pottinger became Governor of the Madras Presidency, and Sir George Berkeley Commander-in-Chief of the troops there. The connection of Dr. Hall with the war, and his accounts of the operations in which he was concerned, will sufficiently appear from the series of his letters which has been preserved.

Dr. Hall had arrived at the Cape on the 1st of January, 1847, in the *Lady Flora*. He was soon writing to the lady—the widow of Duncan Sutherland of St. Vincent in the West Indies—whose acquaintance he had formed while stationed in the island, and who was destined before long to become his wife. These letters, private as they are, were obviously not written at the time with a view to publication, but they are interesting, as showing what was passing in the Colony, and something of Dr. Hall's personality.

"CAPE TOWN,
"*January 6th*, 1847.

"MY DEAR LUCY,

"I wrote to you this morning by a vessel called the *Planet*, and I find this evening that another called the *Druid* will take letters to-morrow, so I may as well send you a few lines by her to tell you that I have this day entered upon my new scheme of board and lodging, and I think I shall like it. There are four gentlemen in the house besides myself and Atkinson. Atkinson moved on here yesterday from another house that he

went to at first, and I believe he intends to leave Mrs. Atkinson here when he goes to the frontier. I breakfast in my own sitting-room, and dine there when I do not feel disposed to join the table d'hôte, which is a great comfort when a man is either sick or out of humour, and I think I shall have to enjoy a solitary meal very frequently on account of the latter cause, for I am becoming horribly bilious, and, you know, I must get up a bit of a rage now and then, or I shall never be able either to keep the young baticarios in order, or rule my own house when I get one. Touching the matter of a house, I am in a fix, as the Yankees say, at present, for, in the uncertain state of affairs just now, I do not like to saddle myself with a house, and incur the expense of furniture until I am satisfied that I shall not have to reside at Graham's Town on the frontier, where I think it more than probable that the Military Headquarters will be fixed in future, and if so, of course I shall have to reside there with the rest of the idlers. To-morrow I am to be gazetted as Inspector of Colonial Hospitals and President of the Medical Committee, which gives me the magnificent sum of 5s. a day and not much trouble. The salary is certainly not a very large one, but still, it makes an addition to what I have, and, if you were only here to share it with me, I should be content; but the voyage is long, and I fear you would find it disagreeable unless you could meet with some friends coming out. That is—*cara*—considering you continue still of the same mind. At present, however, I can make no arrangements, as my plans are undecided. Indeed, I cannot form any until after the arrival of the new Governor, who is expected daily. Captain Kindsake of the *Lady Flora* is a nice man, and if his wife comes out with him next voyage, which he talked of at one time, you would have had an opportunity of coming out with a person I know; but just before we landed he said it was not his intention to command his own ship again, as he thought it would answer his purpose better to put

a Captain into her, and attend to the shipping business at home, and then go overland and meet the vessel in India. How far the ill-success of his speculations here may alter his plans I cannot tell, but, when he returns here in May, I shall be able to learn, and my own plans will be better matured by that time, and I shall know if I am to be continued in the command or moved on to India. The enormous cost of this ill-managed war will make the authorities anxious to cut down every possible expense, and I should not be surprised to find myself placed in the half-pay list in a few months. One thing, it would not break my heart if it were really to happen, for I should then be entitled to the same half-pay that I would be able to claim after three years' full-pay service in my present rank. Of course, I should complain like everyone, and say I was a most unfortunate and ill-used man, or the world would say I had been a favoured individual. When you write, dearest—which I cannot expect now to be so frequently—don't go and say, 'As if that would make any difference!' Pray let me know how you are getting on, and what your plans are. I suppose by this time your West Indian affairs are settled and your joint stock-farming speculation at an end.

"Colonel Hare, who married in St. Vincent, and was the Lieutenant-Governor on the eastern frontier of this Colony, has returned to England in bad health, and I have got the lodgings he had when he was in Cape Town waiting to embark. I am not certain whether he has resigned his appointment or not, but as a General Officer is to be sent out to command the troops on the frontier I think it more than probable that his commission will be superseded by the new General. The command has been going a-begging for some time, and I rather think they will find it difficult to induce anyone of ability to accept such a beggarly office in so vile a country, for everyone is agreed that life in Kafraria is anything but desirable. General Macdonnell, I understand, accepted

the command on a Saturday, and on the Monday he begged to be allowed to resign it. It was subsequently offered, I believe, to Sir Alexander Woodford, and when I left England a General Bell was spoken of, but his health is bad, and he would not be anxious to take it, as he was the Colonel here formerly, and knows well what the nature of the service is. Perhaps Sir Thomas Willshire, who is the Commandant at Chatham, or, at least, was when I left England, may be nominated if there has been a breach, and he has been appointed to the rank of Major-General. He was employed here in the war of 1819, and he is both remembered and dreaded by the Kafirs to this day. The other person they dread is Sir Harry Smith, who distinguished himself so much at the Battle of Aliwal on the Sutlej, and who was here as Deputy-Quartermaster-General in the Kafir war of 1835. When it broke out, he rode from Cape Town to the frontier, a distance of 600 miles, and took such active steps that the war was speedily put an end to. There is a story on record—and I believe quite true—that he galloped after Hinga, one of the Kafir Chiefs, and wounded and took him prisoner, having run great personal danger from the assegais (javelins) that were thrown at him by the savage, one of which, I believe, passed close to his loins, and was only prevented from taking effect by the swerving of his horse.

"I find I shall have a good deal to do to bring up the arrear work here, as some of the returns are as much as twelve months behind, and all the abuse for this delay will fall on me by-and-by. However, my shoulders are broad, and I am not over-thin-skinned. Besides, it takes six months to communicate with the Cape, and by that time everything will be forgotten. Perhaps, *carina*, you will forget me. No, you won't do that either, though you may change your mind on other matters, which is more natural, though not more desirable."

"CAPE TOWN,
"*January 11th*, 1847.

"MY DEAR LUCY,

"Here are three vessels in the bay all bound for England, and I am unwilling that they should all sail without writing a few lines to you to tell you how I am getting on, and inquire how you are and what you are doing. There has been some fighting on the Kei River, and four or five thousand head of cattle have been recaptured from the Kafirs, and it is supposed that the troops will be put in position, and have some rest until Sir Henry Pottinger arrives. Decision has not been very evident in the conducting of this war, and the losses of the farmers on the frontier have been very severe, and they are loud in their complaints, contrasting Sir Harry Smith's activity in the war of '35, where he rode from Cape Town to the frontier, a distance of 600 miles in six days —which I see I stated to you in my last letter—and at once made the necessary arrangements to put the Kafirs down, in which he succeeded in a short time, and left a salutary dread of his name among them, which is remembered with fear and respect to this very day. On the present occasion there were great oversights in the first instance, and Colonel Hare seems either to have been quite outwitted by the savages or totally inadequate to the position in which he was placed. As he has since returned to England on account of his health, I suppose his energies were impaired by bodily infirmities, or he would have taken more energetic measures at the commencement either to put down or to provide for the coming storm, which everyone on the frontier but himself saw brewing for many months before the actual outbreak, and when the savages actually made an inroad into the Colony, burning and destroying all before them, there was nothing ready to arrest their devastating progress, and punish them for their temerity. On the contrary, not a single fort had been victualled or any precaution taken to provide for reverse, and when such

took place, everything was hurry and confusion, and the savages became more daring than ever, fancying that they had gained a complete victory. They actually showed more military genius in some of their ambuscades than the troops that were brought against them, and on one or two occasions they had decidedly the advantage, taking, plundering, and burning about 100 waggons laden with stores of all kinds. Amongst other articles of plunder it appears they fell in with the medicine-chest of the 91st Regiment, and some of the poor devils paid dearly for their curiosity, as they were found poisoned on the road. On this occasion the Officer in command of the escort, which consisted of 250 men, sounded the retreat, and abandoned his charge without losing a man. This conduct was too gross to be passed over even by so humane and good a man as Sir P. Maitland, and the Officer has been tried by court-martial, the decision of which will not be known until the proceedings are returned from England with the Queen's pleasure on them. It is an awkward position for any military man to be placed in, as it argues either want of courage or lamentable want of judgment, either of which is a great defect in a soldier. The non-combatants are the only people in our Army who are privileged to run away, and I can assure you we are sometimes envied for it by men who do *valoroso* in peaceable times.

"As you have been studying the history of the Cape, there is no use troubling you with a description of this hot, dirty town, as you will find it much better given in any of the works on the Colony that you have been reading. This, you know, is the middle of summer here, and January is the hottest month of the whole year. I do not suffer at all from the heat, and I have no doubt the climate will be pleasant during the cooler months. Grapes, peaches, apples, figs, and pears are in season, and very abundant and cheap. Vegetables are plentiful and cheap, but meat is higher-priced than I expected, and house-rent is comparatively high, a moderate-sized

house costing from £70 to £100 a year. Servants are extravagantly dear and very bad—so all the people say who have to hire them here—but, as I brought a man out with me, I have not experienced that annoyance yet. I told my fellow that I would increase his wages from £20 to £27 a year. If he remained with me and if he conducted himself well, I would make another advance to him next year. This will keep him in his situation, as he is not overworked; but I am told the people here make a practice of tempting the servants away by offering them higher wages than the people give them who bring them out. My man, I think, has a soft feeling for Dr. Atkinson's nursery-maid, who is rather deaf, and not very young or good-looking; but there is no accounting for tastes, and so long as they remain here, I think I am safe! The people who came out with me are all preparing for a forward move to the frontier, and I shall be glad when I get them all despatched. Mrs. Atkinson now begins to see and feel the justice of the advice that was given to her husband in England, but she was too wilful then, and he too uxorious, to attend to it, and now they seem to consider it a hardship that he should fulfil the duty that Sir James McGrigor gave him his promotion out of his regular turn to accomplish. Nothing, however, but the most dire necessity will induce me for a moment to listen to any evasion on account of domestic concerns, and I have constantly thrown cold water on any hints about Atkinson's remaining in Cape Town. I thought I should have had trouble with Jameson and his Creole wife, but, by tempting him with a station that he thinks a good one, I have got him and his Creole wife off my hands for the present very quietly. The young men are all ready for the fray, and are anxious to get to the frontier, where scenes of a more stirring nature than anything they can meet with in Cape Town are being enacted daily.

"Sir P. Maitland, who has been superseded by the appointment of Sir H. Pottinger, has not yet returned

from the frontier, and no one here seems to know what his intentions are. Some say he will remain on the frontier until the arrival of his successor, others that he will return to Cape Town immediately in the vessel of war that has been sent up to Algoa Bay and placed at his disposal, and sail for England at once. Time will soon tell which party is right. I think, under existing circumstances, that he ought not to quit his post until released, but, as Lady Sarah is angry at the treatment that he has received from Government, I suppose she will make him do as she likes.

"The mawkish sympathy of the Press and people here must disgust them more than anything else, as they must know that most people think he has mismanaged this Kafir war most lamentably. His son-in-law, William Foster, to whom I was introduced the other day, talked about his not putting up with the insult, and of the Duke of Richmond, who is Lady Sarah's brother, bringing the subject before Parliament. Of course, if he do so, Government, I doubt not, will be prepared to justify themselves to the nation for what they have done. Such a step would not have been taken towards a man of his age and reputation without good and sufficient reasons, and perhaps the Duke may have discretion enough to let the matter drop. Sir P. is a good and a very pious man, but something more is occasionally required in the government of a Colony than psalm-singing, and most assuredly, in coping with an enemy like the Kafirs, it would have been better to have relied on the soldiers' muskets and bayonets than on missionaries and their prayers. I went to church here yesterday, and was both defiled and disgusted, and I shall go no more. Only fancy the idea of putting a man who had got himself up rather smartly for the occasion into a pew with the paint (brown) still moist and sticky! Atkinson, who was with me, was fairly glued down, and I was seized with such an irresistible fit of laughter at our unhappy predicament that I was obliged to sit down until it was over. Fancy

two unfortunates with nice white trousers put into a pew recently painted or varnished with brown paint! At first it did not seem soft, but no sooner did the warmth of our persons melt the surface than the mischief began. I saw what was coming, and had the precaution to place my Prayer-Book under me, so that I did not suffer quite so much as Atkinson, but still, I was bad enough, I found, when I reached home and took off my trousers. The villain who showed us into the pew had a sanctified smirk on his face that I will reward him for if I ever come across him. The parson, too, an Irishman with a brogue and affectation that was both ludicrous and disgusting, completed my misery, and entirely banished every feeling of piety. I declare, and I now feel fully justified in the declaration, that I will not put myself to the inconvenience of going to church again until the cool weather arrives, or until I can be better accommodated than I was yesterday.

"*Monday, January 11th.*—Rain this morning, no dust, and everything looks revived. I commenced on my new Colonial duties and presided at the Medical Committee, where we passed some apothecaries' bills for attendance upon paupers, etc., and recommended one young Medico to the Governor for a licence to kill Her Majesty's subjects in this Colony according to rule and law. It was singular enough that the first act of my authority was to recommend the young man who came out in the *Lady Flora* with me, and I hope my office will always have to deal with men so well-educated and worthy. But the fact is, I see by the correspondence in the books, that men send and purchase formal degrees which can be obtained for about £30, and then set up as Medicine Doctors, as they call themselves here, and the Committee, which is absolute in such matters, has to put them down. By the way, how's your friend Giovanni getting on? Has he been elected Surgeon of the Westminster Hospital yet, or is he still living with his mother at Rugby? I told you, I think, in one of

my letters, what the Westminster Hospitals thought of him, and I dare say in time he will find his proper professional level, which has, he thinks, been fixed at too high a rate. The Governor is expected down from the frontier almost immediately, but when the last despatches came from him he had not received the despatch containing his recall, which, I fear, poor old gentleman, will be a bitter mortification to him.

"Vessels are coming in almost daily from India on their way home, and I understand for the next three or five months there will be no lack of opportunities of writing to England; but after that, when the winter sets in and the north-west gales commence, few ships anchor in the Bay, as it is not safe at that season of the year, and, if their anchors do not hold, nothing can prevent them from going on shore and being wrecked. The remnants of many such disasters in the shape of ships' timbers above the water are visible on the beach to the westward of the town. Has your friend Lady Stagter returned from the Continent, and how are my friends Sir Richard Doherty and his better half getting on? Is he still in France, or have they returned to Malvern? I suppose Sir Richard is now fairly on the shelf, and will have nothing to do for the remainder of his life but enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. Have you heard how the good folks in St. Vincent are getting on, both Governor and people? Has the scandal about Lady C. subsided, or is it still spoken of in that charitable community? Does the Commodore's son ever touch at the Cape, and what kind of a man is he? Would you prefer coming out with him if you decide on altering your condition, and can muster courage to come so far alone, and I can make arrangements here? Mind, I leave it to yourself, and I tell you honestly I think you will be disappointed if you do come, for I have no romance in my composition, and I fear you might expect more than will be realized. I say this, dearest, that you may not take a step without due consideration, as I am confident your friends will not

approve of it, and in telling you again to think well over the subject, I know you will not misconstrue my meaning, and, if even you decide on what would at first be painful, still, I should not respect or love you less. In writing this plainly to you, I think I am best consulting your happiness, and doing that which the difference of our years authorizes and calls upon me to do, and I know you have good sense enough neither to misunderstand nor misconstrue what I say. In a little while I shall know more decidedly what military arrangements are to be made, and then I will write to you more fully, but I must now conclude this long letter, which I have no time to read over, with every kind and good wish for your love, and with a prayer for your health and happiness."

"CAPE TOWN,
"*January 17th*, 1847.

"Your letter of the 21st of October reached me the day before yesterday *viâ* Algoa Bay, which must have detained it some days. Algoa Bay is about 600 miles from Cape Town, and there is a post twice a week only between the two places; but such trifles, I suppose, are beneath the notice of the Post-Office authorities at home. Your letter, darling, I notice, is written under great despondency, but I hope time and reason have enabled you to overcome the depression of spirits with which you were at the time afflicted. I wish you were here with all my heart, for I feel the want of an affectionate companion, and yet such a wish is very selfish, as it would put you to much inconvenience, and I might have to leave you here for a season, as I feel it will be my duty to go to the frontier and see how the medical concerns are getting on. Dr. Atkinson has not yet been able to obtain a passage to the frontier, at which Mrs. Atkinson, as you may naturally imagine, is very triste, but six of our number embark in the morning for their destination. Sir Peregrine Maitland is expected down here at the beginning of the week, as the Admiral has sent the

Thunderbolt steamer for him to Waterloo Bay. The report is that he will not leave this until the middle of February; but perhaps the arrival of his successor may hurry his movements. Lady Sarah has fretted herself at his recall, and yesterday I heard from Dr. Forrest, her medical attendant, that she had got fever. I hope, however, that her indisposition will prove of little moment and of short duration, for should anything happen to her, it would be a great blow to the old gentleman, and add to his affliction. Dr. Forrest, who belongs to the Medical Staff here, and has made a good deal of money, I hear, by private practice, is indignant at being passed over by Atkinson, who is junior to him in the Service, and is going to make an application to return home on account of his health, to which I suppose I shall be compelled to give my assent. The other day he sent a regular reprimand to Sir James McGrigor for overlooking his individual merits, and promoting a junior Officer over his head, which he sent to me for transmission home. I, of course, returned it to him with a message that, however much he fancied Sir James deserved censure for the promotion he had made, I was not the channel through which such a communication should pass, but that if I could forward his views in getting an exchange, or even promotion, it would afford me much pleasure. It was rather a knowing dodge of the canny Scot, as all Sir James's anger would have fallen on me, and very properly, for transmitting such a document; but I have been severely bitten once by one of his countrymen for my good-nature, and I will forgive the next who persuades me to commit myself again for his advantage. The weather has become quite cool within the last few days, and, if this be the hottest month of the year, it must be a pleasant climate. I went the other day to Wynberg, a small village about eight miles from Cape Town. It is pleasantly situated on the south-east side of the mountains that close in Cape Town, and is several degrees cooler than this place. About half-way to Wynberg there is a pretty

village called Rondebosch, which, as well as Wynberg, is much frequented by invalids who come from India to this place for change of climate, and their selection does them much credit. This class of visitors used to spend large sums at the Cape, but, now that they are allowed to go to New South Wales if they like, this source of profit to the Cape folk is greatly diminished. The overland route is another great drawback, as many officers, both civil and military, now prefer a trip home even to retaining their allowances here, for you must know that officers obtaining leave of absence to visit the Cape on account of their health retain both their pay and allowances the same as if they were actually present in India; whereas on returning to England their allowances cease, and they only retain their personal pay, which is small, not exceeding much that of the Queen's Service. Here, however, the (Anglo) Indians seem viewed as fair game for pillage, and their own vanity and love of ostentation render them easy victims. It is a dishonest principle, nevertheless, to have different prices for different classes of society, and, should difficulties fall on the dishonest traders who practise such devices, no one can pity them or feel sorrow for their misfortunes. There is one price for the (Anglo) Indian residents, one for the passing strangers, another for the resident English, and a fourth for the Dutch inhabitants, which last, I fancy, is the true value of the articles sold or services rendered.

"This is Sunday, but I have been deterred from going to church on account of the paint which I mentioned to you in my last had done my dress so much damage—and spoiled my devotions!

"11 a.m. I fancy you are just feeding Tip at this moment, and thinking of reading prayers, if in Elm Tree Road, for you know we are more than an hour in advance of you in point of time, as you will observe by looking at the longitude of this place.

"I went the day before yesterday to see a Botanical Garden in the suburbs of the town, belonging to a

Baron Ludwig, which is laid out with great taste, and contains a good collection of Cape plants, which makes it interesting. The Baron is a liberal man, and his vanity makes him generous in giving admission to his garden to strangers. The place appears ordinary enough to a person just from England, but here it is considered as one of the wonders of the world, and to utter a word of disparagement against it would be considered a species of treason. I am told there is an opposition establishment kept by an Englishman, which I must endeavour to get a peep at if I can, as public opinion is divided between them. The Baron—Baron is a fine-sounding title—made a large sum of money by selling snuff in a small shop, and went to Germany and got ennobled. Since his return to the Cape he employed his leisure time in this agreeable way, and has really converted a piece of waste, stony land into a charming spot. He has one or two *jets d'eau*, which, though small, are well contrived, and create great astonishment amongst the natives. Mrs. Atkinson went with us, and the gardener politely furnished her with a magnificent bouquet, and gave me a sprig of the Kafir thorn in blossom. The Kafir thorn is a species of mimosa that is very annoying in the woods on the frontier, where it abounds to such a degree as to render travelling in the woods a matter of discomfort, and of great peril to the nether garments.

" By the time you receive this, you will have got your affairs arranged, and I hope made up your mind as to what you intend doing. I unfortunately can make no arrangement until the new General arrives and decides where the military headquarters are to be. I have taken comfortable lodgings at a Mrs. Wilmot's in Roeland Street, where I shall remain until I hear from you, as under existing circumstances I do not wish to encumber myself with a house and furniture that I might find some difficulty in disposing of, should I be ordered away suddenly either to the frontier or to another command. I have a large sitting-room to myself in which I breakfast in the morning.

My bedroom is a spacious and lofty one—would answer for two people in an emergency, as the bed is on a West Indian scale, and would admit of separate sides if they did not agree; and I have a room for my servant. I dine at the table d'hôte at seven in the evening for the sake of society, but her agreement is to provide me with a separate table if I prefer it at any time. There is stable-room and a coach-house, when my fancy or my finances admit of my speculating in the conveyance line, which I must do soon, as it will not do for the Colonial Inspector to be seen trudging on foot about the town.

"On board ship I met with a book that amused me much—*Chambers's Information for the People*, new series. It is in two volumes, and contains dissertations on almost every department of knowledge. Its price is 8s., and if I were in England I should purchase a copy of the work. It is worthy of the attention even of a philosopher. I am now reading the private correspondence of the poet Cowper, which I have obtained from the library. It is well written, but a little too religious for my taste. Cowper, you know, was insane for many years, and there is something very affecting to think of the overthrow of such a mind as that which produced the *Task*. The library here is a magnificent one, as perhaps you will one day have an opportunity of seeing, and the subscription is only £2 a year, and £1 deposit, which is returned when you go away. I hear there are two vessels in from England this morning; one sailed on the 19th and the other on the 31st of October, so that neither can bring much news, as there are letters and papers in the Colony already up to the 31st of October. The report is—how obtained I cannot tell—that Sir H. Pottinger was to leave England on the 6th of December in the passenger steamer, and that he may be looked for in the course of next week. The Kafir war seems to be nearly extinguished, and I hope soon to see peace restored on the frontier of the Colony. I fear, dearest, that you will be tired of my long, uninteresting letters, and vote both me and them a bore;

but somehow I feel comfort in writing to you, and you must take the blame yourself for having encouraged me formerly in my scribbling propensities. If you were only here it would be such a comfort, but the distance is great, and the discomfort of coming alone so unpleasant that I cannot expect you to undertake it on my account—nor would I wish it unless you could come with friends either of your own or with someone I know. In a short time, however, I shall receive your own deliberate decision, for it would not be fair to hold you to the opinion expressed under the painful feelings of separation, and I shall wait until then before I decide on my future plans. Now don't be affronted at this, and say I ought not to doubt your affection. No more I do, darling! But you know ladies are privileged to change their minds on such matters, and it is but just to afford them the opportunity before they enter into permanent engagements. A certain little philosopher of my acquaintance used to be very dogmatic on domestic matters, and vow vows about the comforts of single blessedness and the advantage of being alone in a cottage near a wood. Perhaps by this time the same opinions may have resumed sway over her mind, and she may wish to be liberated from the conditional promise into which she entered. If this be so, let no consideration deter her from speaking out. It is better that present pain be inflicted than that future disappointment be experienced. I am thus urgent, dearest, for your happiness, and not for my own, for I can scarcely yet bring myself to think that you were in earnest—and yet I feel you would not be so cruel as to sport with my affections. At the time I doubt not you felt what you expressed, but time and absence may have changed your ideas, and you may now wish to be absolved from your rash vows. If you join me, dearest, you will in all probability be separated from your family and your friends for the remainder of your days, and you would do well to consider whether you can make up your mind to this sacrifice. Your uncle and your Aunt Carry will,

I dare say, oppose your marriage, and others may feel disappointed and surprised at your selection. 'Only think of Lucy marrying a man old enough to be her father!' Does the old Commodore's son touch here? The Commodore would be a good person to look out for a ship for you, and should you come out, mind and get a poop cabin, and one on the left-hand side, or what is called the larboard side of the ship, as that will give you the advantage of the breeze nearly all the way out."

"CAPE TOWN,
"*January 18th*, 1847.

"Yesterday, darling, I wrote to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1, *viâ* Algoa Bay, and this morning a fresh arrival from England has put me in possession of your letters 2 and 3, dated the 26th and 29th of October, together with your note to the *Quebec* at Portsmouth, for I cannot dignify it with the title of letter, though I feel grateful for it and for all the cheering and kind wishes contained in all your communications, which are peculiarly acceptable to me, and you need be under no apprehension of wearying me with either the number or length of your letters, for everything that concerns you is interesting to me. I fear you will be tired of the long, uninteresting epistles I write to you, for I see I have written on the 6th, the 11th, yesterday, and now I have commenced again, and if that does not satisfy you, I must say you are a most unreasonable little philosopher, and, if the postman's bill does not frighten you for such nonsense, it must be owned you are a courageous lady, for I begin to have some qualms of conscience at the expense I am putting you to.

"Tell Georgie I have received her kind note, which was enclosed in your letter of the 26th, and I feel much flattered by her recollection of me. I will most assuredly, for her sake and for her special amusement, keep a journal when I go up to the frontier, which I dare say will be soon now, as Sir P. Maitland is expected here

to-morrow, and Sir H. Pottinger may be looked for daily. I don't know whether Georgie is aware of it, but I shall have little to say about bonnets or dress when I get among the Kafirs, as they are very primitive in such matters, and continue to adopt the fashions that were in vogue in the time of our first parents, Adam and Eve; but there are other points of personal grace, and I hope they may be worthy of notice. To a person who has been in the West Indies, there is nothing but the Malay hats that strikes him as strange here. The native or Chinese hat comes to a point at the top of the head, and spreads out below so as to shade the face from sun and rain. They are useful if not ornamental, and I shall bring one or two home with me if I return without your having an opportunity of witnessing them for yourself.

"To-day I have been busy writing until this moment, 5 p.m., and as I may be occupied again to-morrow at the office all day, I avail myself of the hour before dinner to write this. The returns and reports from this command are nearly two years in arrears, and I shall have much labour and trouble in bringing them up. For some of the Regimental Records have been taken and burnt by the Kafirs, and others are dispersed by way of security to the rear, so that it will take some time to correct and arrange them. I had a letter from Sir James McGrigor, very kindly telling me that he had obtained an introduction to Sir H. Pottinger for me through Sir Henry's sister, and pointing out—what I feel myself—that my post will be with the Headquarters of the Army in the Field on the frontier. The war, however, I believe, is nearly over, and perhaps there may be no occasion for my remaining on the frontier. Sir Thomas Willshire, commonly called Tiger Tom, is, I hear to-day, to be our new General, and he may wish to have the Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals along with him; if so, it will not only be a deuced bore, but a dead loss of £100 per annum to your humble servant, who now enjoys that magnificent sum as Inspector of Colonial Hospitals, which he would

be compelled to resign if ordered to live at Graham's Town on the frontier. I think, darling, a Cape paper would not interest you much. Colonial papers are for the most part stuffed and filled with matter of a weak nature, and those at the Cape are no exception to the general rule. I will get you a Dutch one, however, if you wish it. All that is interesting you will find copied into the English papers, and there you will have the advantage of the editor's wisdom as well as the news, and editors do not in general consider their lucubrations Balaam, though most other people do. Part of the frontier Press is very radical, and gives very exaggerated accounts of ordinary occurrences, colouring them to suit their own views and plans.

"The first batch of Medicos that came out with me embarked for Port Elizabeth on their way to the frontier this morning, and Dr. Atkinson and the remainder will follow, I hope, in a few days now. This morning was inland-post post-day, and I had applications from no less than three Medical Officers to return home on account of their health and long service in the Colony; one for an appointment that is vacant, and another to be sent to a post 300 miles in advance of the frontier—a singular fancy you will say, and one I was but too happy to comply with. Three Regiments are ordered home, and will be despatched as soon as ever transport can be procured for them, which looks like a settlement of the question. I understand Sir P. Maitland says it is all over, and in eight or nine days after he received his order of recall he would have been able to report it officially to Government. What appears strange to me, if it be as his friends state, is that he did not remain on the frontier for so very limited a period and conclude the affair. I rather think something will still be found for his successor to arrange when he arrives. The Kafirs are a wandering savage race, and a sufficient example has not been made of them in this campaign to deter them from plundering in future. I don't suppose that more than two or three

thousand of them have been slain since the commencement of the contest, and that at different times. Had they lost half the number at once, it would have impressed them with a salutary dread of coming into contact with disciplined troops, whereas from bad management they were allowed to gain two or three important advantages which gave them unbounded confidence in their own courage and military skill. So far as skill went, they certainly appear, from all accounts, to have outwitted the Regulars in two instances, and given them a drubbing. The grapes are coming into season here, but they are by no means so fine as those we used to get at Gibraltar and in other parts of Spain. The weather is not very unlike that of the Mediterranean, and I dare say it would be pleasant during the spring and winter months—neither too hot nor too cold. The mountains in the neighbourhood would at all times insure cool weather were we even nearer the equator. Besides, you know, the southern hemisphere is much colder than the northern. The stars and constellations are brilliant to a degree that you can form no conception of in foggy London. Pah! who would live in a climate like yours where the air is so loaded that it requires to be filtered through muslin, according to the celebrated Dr. Reed's opinion, before it can be respired! The Southern Cross is a splendid constellation, and Venus is so bright that she casts a shadow like a very moon. I think you are a bit of a star-gazer, and would be delighted with this climate and firmament.

"*Thursday.*—I had an interview with Sir P. Maitland yesterday, who returned from the frontier the day before. He says he can give no information, as he does not know what his successor may decide on regarding the military posts, but he seems to consider the Kafir war as quite at an end. Sir Henry Pottinger is accompanied, it appears, by Major-General Sir George Berkeley, who is to have the command of the frontier and reside at Graham's Town. The officials here are all in a state of great alarm at the prospect of being ordered to take

post on the frontier. The chances of such a move are certainly on the cards, and it is matter of amusement to me to witness the general consternation. I am too recently arrived to be affected much by the change. I have neither house nor furniture nor —— to encumber me, and can be in light marching order in a couple of hours if necessary. Atkinson embarks the day after to-morrow for the frontier, and I shall be in madame's black books, as I really think he was modest enough to think I would go to the frontier and leave him in charge in Cape Town. His ambition is certainly not very circumscribed, as he said to me: 'Of course I shall be entitled to the 15s. a day as Head of the Department employed in the Field.' I told him I was afraid he would be disappointed in his expectation, as he did not happen to be Head of the Department at the Cape, and that, if he were even employed in the Field, it would merely be as Staff-Surgeon of Division, and not as Head of the Medical Department. He said he did not see that. Of course to such vaulting ambition I could only add: 'Your best plan will be to make an application for the money, and I doubt not you will have an answer from the proper authorities on the subject.' The best joke is, that there is a Senior Staff-Surgeon (Cotton) to him already on the frontier, to say nothing of your humble servant, who is the accredited Principal Medical Officer in this command. Atkinson got his promotion to go to this very service that he has tried to shirk since he came here. But it was no go. I would neither be blarneyed nor forced out of what I know to be right. He is rather down in the mouth to-day, as he has been giving his opinion about the distribution of the Medical Officers, none of which I have thought proper to confirm, and, one of the young gentlemen having quoted him, I was obliged to say his opinion was no authority on such matters! Ain't I going the whole—in authority? I had written hog, and as it is a piggish feeling, I don't see why the word should not remain.

"This is such a hot day. My! it is almost suffocating, so I will just lie down on the sofa and eat some nice grapes and figs that have been left on my table for lunch. I never eat meat in the middle of the day, so the landlady always has a plate of fruit put in my room against my return home from my labours. On Sunday afternoon I made an attempt to ascend the Table Mountain, but found it so fatiguing that I desisted before I got a third of the way up. I feel stiff still from the scrambling efforts I made, for I lost my way at first in a wood, and afterwards got into a water-course that was as smooth as glass, and I was afraid of breaking my neck, so I got down as quietly and quickly as I could. The distance is very deceptive. From this it looks a task of easy accomplishment to ascend the mountain, but, as one advances, unforeseen difficulties present themselves, and I shall follow Sheridan's advice to his son about the coal-pit, and say I have been up, which will do as well as if I were to take the trouble and undergo the exertion and fatigue of scrambling up to the top, where, I dare say, all I would meet with to reward me for my trouble would be a view of sea and sky, and a peep at Cape Town, about which I now feel little interest.

"I hope the *Pottinger* will soon arrive, for she is sure to bring a mail, and I feel sure of having letters from you. I will write to you as soon as ever she arrives, and I have learnt what arrangements have been decided on.

"This is Thursday. To-morrow I am going out to a dinner-party—the first I have been invited to—but a great many people have left their cards, few of whom, I fear, are dinner-giving folks. So it's of little consequence if I have to march up to Graham's Town, which is a wretched place of some twenty-five years' antiquity. If they decide on advancing the frontier, perhaps a new frontier capital may be built, and who knows but I may become a speculator in bricks and mortar. The thievish propensity of the border gentry is sufficient to deter the owner of flocks and herds. Most of the farmers

are, or say they are, ruined, but whether this is true or not it is difficult to say. Compensation for losses is talked of, and that will not diminish the claims of individuals, and I have no doubt many good round lies will be told, and oaths taken if required to establish such claims, for where the Government bears the expense all such expedients are considered fair and honourable by some unprincipled people.

"How time slips away! Here have I been four months away from Elm Tree Road, where I spent many happy days notwithstanding the pinching and teasing of a certain little acquaintance of mine who used to delight in mischief. Never mind, a day may come when she will be punished according to her deserts, whipped and sent to bed supperless—and you may tell her so if you like. By the way, how does Giovanni get on? And how's your cousin Matthew? Tell my friend Georgie I compassionate her on her fate in being compelled to learn lessons at her time of life, when all such drudgery ought to be abandoned, and she should be looking out to get married. Does her partiality for the moustachios still continue as strong as ever, or has her fancy taken some other bent, a pale interesting youth with thought and intellect on his forehead stamped, etc., etc. I suppose we shall see something in the shape of a poem, novel, or disputation on philosophy from Professor Duncan by-and-by, as all these abstruse studies must produce something at last.

"Love to my friend Georgie, and every kind wish and good thought for yourself, darling, accompanies this."

"CAPE TOWN,

No. 10020. "*January 29th*, 1847.

"The *Haddington* steamer, with Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley, the new Commander of the town, on board, arrived here the day before yesterday, and put me in possession, dearest, of your letters 7 and 8, for which I feel much obliged to you. You are such a

darling and constant scribe, and your letters are such a comfort! But are you quite sure the fear you express of wearying me by their frequency is not a sly hint to get quietly and creditably out of the trouble of writing them? By the way, Nos. 4, 5, and 6 have not come to hand yet, but in due course I hope I shall receive them, as I dare say they have been forwarded by some dull sailing-ship. Dull sailing-ships ought to be prohibited by Act of Parliament from conveying mails—or probably the Post-Office people have sent them round by China by way of variety, as the first letter I received from you was sent by a vessel bound for Algoa Bay, which is distant 500 miles from this place, and there is a post twice a week only. Such trifles, however, are nothing to the gods in St. Martin's le Grand, who, I dare say, are glad to despatch the correspondence to such out-of-the-way places as this by any vessels that are going within the bounds of the Colony. I cannot complain on the present occasion, as the steamer has brought me a letter to the end of November, not quite two months since it was written, which is doing wonders for this place. I have scribbled a great many letters to you since my arrival, and have sent them off as opportunities have presented; but as I have not had the sense to number them as you very properly have done yours, they will arrive without order, and will puzzle you. Now that I think of it, I will commence numbering mine, and the number at the top of this I calculate, as the Yankees say, is about the correct figure.

"I went to hear the new Governor sworn in, but I have neither seen him nor Sir George except in public, but to-morrow I must call, and then perhaps I may hear something about the frontier, as I believe they start in a week or ten days to the seat of war. Sir Peregrine Maitland, about ten days or a fortnight ago, proclaimed the Kafir war at an end, thanked and complimented all those that had taken part in it, and dismissed the greater part of the Burgher force to their homes, and last post brought us the intelligence of the horrid murder of three

Officers who had gone out with a party, and had imprudently ridden on a couple of miles in advance of their men, when they were fired at and surrounded by almost 150 Kafirs, who murdered them and mutilated their bodies in a shocking manner. The Officers, Captain Gibson and Dr. Howell of the Rifle Brigade, and Lieutenant Chetwynd of the 73rd, appear to have fought bravely, as nine dead Kafirs were found near them; but what could courage avail against such fearful odds? It appears from a Hottentot who was with them that the Doctor's horse was shot under him at the onset, and the other two, had they ridden away, might have escaped, but much to the credit of their names, in place of leaving poor Howell to his horrid fate, they generously dismounted and stood by him, and, had their ammunition lasted, it is probable they would all have escaped. This incident marks as fully as the Governor's proclamation how far the war is over, and what reliance can be placed on the faith of these babes of grace. Besides murdering these three young men, they have commenced anew stealing cattle, and the whole thing, the people here seem to think, will have to be worked over again. Sir Peregrine, however, is true to his opinion, as he has given orders for the immediate embarkation of the 90th Regiment for England, and the 91st and 27th are to follow shortly. The case of these is a hard one, as they were on their way home from Ceylon, where they had served ten years, when they were detained here, and sent up to the frontier to reap leaves, if not laurels, in the Fish River Bush. I understand the order for the immediate withdrawal of these three Regiments came from the Secretary for the Colonies, Earl Grey, and not from the military authorities at the Horse Guards, which is considered a strange proceeding. To be sure, an expense of upwards of £100,000 a month for a place like Kafraria, which, if put up to sale, inhabitants and all, would not fetch a tithe of that sum, is enough to alarm the authorities at home, and make them look about them. I was told

by a person the other day who has means of getting accurate information in such matters, that, since the Kafir war commenced in April last, £800,000 of hard cash had been paid through the military chest, besides Treasury Bills to perhaps twice that amount which will have to be paid in England—an expenditure like this for such trifling advantages as have hitherto been obtained! The control is sure to attract attention, and had the Kafirs been treated in the only way that they are capable of comprehending, instead of being preached to for Exeter Hall effect, things, I dare say, would at this time have worn a very different aspect on the frontier. The only way to treat a savage is to make him fear you, and that will insure his respect. Swaddling he does not comprehend, and leniency he ascribes to your fear of him. Since the last war numbers of them have obtained firearms from the traders on the coast and frontier, which gives them great confidence. Fortunately, as yet they are but indifferent marksmen, but time and practice will improve them, and then they will be truly formidable in the wooded and intricate country which at present forms the seat of war. Sir B. Durban, who was here during the Kafir war in 1835, and who managed it well, recommended the frontier line to be extended so as to place this impenetrable bush in the rear in place of the advance of our military posts, and so secure an open country where troops could act with effect, and chastise any act of aggression of our neighbours, but the Government were guided by the opinion of missionaries and other interested parties instead of listening to him, and the result has proved just as he predicted at the time, and now, if they wish to preserve the frontier provinces, they must, after an expenditure of three to four millions of money, resort to the very same line of defence that he recommended so many years ago.

"What Sir Henry's instructions were no one knows. If they have sent him out to act on his own unbiassed judgment he may accomplish some good, but if he is

fettered with Colonial Office schemes the chances are he will do nothing, at least, nothing more than his predecessors have done. It is quite formal to talk of treaties with the Kafirs, gentlemen who will promise anything and perform nothing, unless compelled to do so by the fear of chastisement.

"I dined at the South African Club last night with a very large and very jolly party to celebrate the return of Colonel Clark from the frontier. My name has been put up by Señor D. Plat, the Portuguese Commissioner for Slaves here, and I dare say I shall be a member in a few days. It is a convenient place, as I can live there much cheaper than I am doing at present, and I can ask friends to dine with me there, which is an advantage."

"*Sunday, 31st*, 1847.

"Last night I received a communication from the Deputy-Quartermaster-General, Colonel Clark, to say that a passage would be provided for me in Her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt*, which sails from Simon's Bay to-morrow for Algoa Bay to bring down the 90th Regiment, if I wished to proceed to the frontier. Having spoken to the General in the morning on the subject, of course the information amounted to an order, and I am off at eleven to-morrow by the mail-cart. As I suppose in your Cape researches you have found out, Simon's Bay is distant some twenty-one miles from Cape Town, and as the steamer is to sail immediately the mail gets in, I shall have no time to lose. The Governor and General together with all their followers, and Mrs. Rumley, who is married to a Major of the 6th and is the General's daughter, start the following week. It was the fear of want of accommodation that made the General recommend my preceding his party, for you must know that the inns are of the most primitive nature, and have but scant accommodation at the best. When Governors and Generals, and Generals' daughters travel, small people

would have but little chance, and I am glad that is arranged so, though it hurries me a good deal, and I must leave a great many things undone that I had intended to look after. One thing I infer from what the General said yesterday, when he was walking with me to the Hospital, that headquarters are to remain in Cape Town, as he was talking of the alterations he wanted to have made in his house before Lady Berkeley's arrival. I am glad that is arranged so, for a prolonged residence on the frontier I should have viewed with the greatest horror. How long I may have to remain there on the present occasion I cannot say, but one thing I can tell you, I don't care how short the period may prove. The news from the frontier by last night's post is more pacific than it was the post before, and as Kreli has sent word to say that he is ready to surrender the remainder of the Colonial cattle, some 10,000 head, I suppose the affair will soon be concluded when Sir Henry Pottinger reaches the frontier. I will write to you when I get there, but I must conclude this soon, as I am writing at random, not being able to distinguish the lines, and I expect the dinner-bell to ring at any moment.

"9 p.m. I have just finished my dinner, and have a few minutes to spare before I commence packing, which must be done to-night as the waggon will be here for my baggage at six in the morning. I have just seen Mrs. Atkinson, who is a perfect Niobe since the Doctor left her. She talks of going to England, but that's absurd. Her husband's income will not admit of that, and she should have remained at home with her friends when she was there. It is natural enough, poor thing, that she should feel anxious and depressed, and my sudden order has been a blow to her, as she felt confidence while some-one that she knew was near her.

"I am glad to hear you were so much delighted at Julien's concert, and I am often surprised that you who are so passionately fond of music should attend so little to its cultivation yourself, and devote your energies to

the study of obscure theological subjects. *N'importe.* You derive amusement from such studies, and your friends ought to be satisfied. How is it, *cara*, that Mrs. Mark has taken such a fancy for you? Only Giovanni is such a naïve donkey, or I should say there was danger in it. Giovanni certainly did his utmost to damage her reputation, and I wonder what the Rev. Mark would say if he heard his observations. It is to be hoped that good sense and better feelings have come to her aid, and that she has seen the folly of indulging in such wild sallies as she used to do about her husband. Husbands I dare say are frequently disagreeable, but I question whether she would have improved her condition had she got our amiable friend Giovanni. By the way, how is *la baccatina* getting on? Has the pleurisy softened her heart and made her distribute comfort in the shape of banknotes or hard cash?

"Does you friend Lady H. appear to enjoy her matrimonial speculation? I see by the papers that her friend Lady D. will soon be in town, as he has got the London recruiting district. Had I not got my promotion, that would have been pleasant enough, as I like Sir Richard. You will see them, I dare say, in the course of the winter, and, should you, you must write me word how the old couple get on, as I am curious to learn if Sir R. proves a willing and obedient slave. What is the story your mother has got hold of? Is it the Warwick case, or have your friends divined that you had bestowed your affections less worthily? I suppose you will soon hear how your West Indian affairs are to be arranged, and what steps the creditors intend to adopt. Has Harry established your right to the stores, and what does he recommend you to do with them? The Bank Stores, I hope, prosper, as well as your farming speculations. I am sorry to hear of the melancholy loss Mrs. Johnnie sustained. Are you quite sure John did not slily make away with Vic, and rid himself of an ugly pest? Remember me affectionately to Georgie, and tell her

she shall have a full, true, and particular account of the Kafirs and Hottentots soon."

After his start on the 1st of February, 1847, for the frontier, Dr. Hall was not able, for a time, to write so fully or so frequently to his future wife, but the diary which he kept regularly supplies plenty of information of his doings, including his wreck on the 3rd of February in the *Thunderbolt* on Cape Recife, off Algoa Bay, and his journey through difficult country to Graham's Town.

" 1847. *Saturday*, 6 *p.m.*, *January* 30*th.*—Received a note from Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, the Deputy-Quarter-master-General at the Cape of Good Hope, to say that Her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt* would sail from Simon's Bay for Port Elizabeth after the arrival of the mail from Cape Town on Monday, and that, if I wished to avail myself of the opportunity of proceeding to the frontier, the Admiral would be written to to order me a passage; and that I could proceed in the mail-cart which left at eleven o'clock on Monday.

" *Sunday*, 31*st.*—Employed in making arrangements, but, being Sunday, all the shops are shut, which is inconvenient and annoying.

" *Monday*, *February* 1*st.* — Obtained a horse waggon for my baggage, which I started off with my servant at eight o'clock, and at eleven, having previously drawn my pay from the commissariat up to the end of January, I got into the mail-cart, and arrived at Simon's Bay at 2.30 p.m. Called at the Admiral's with my letter from the Quartermaster-General, and had a passage ordered for me on board the *Thunderbolt*, which had her steam up, and we sailed out of the Bay for Port Elizabeth at 3 p.m. Passed the *Eurydice* from England at the entrance of the Bay, and exchanged numbers with her.

" The *Eurydice* sailed from Spithead on the 25th of October, the same day that the *Lady Flora*, the vessel in which I came out from England, did. The *Lady Flora* arrived in Table Bay on the 1st of January, so that the

Eurydice must either have touched at some other port, or have had an unusually long passage for a ship of war.

"The *Thunderbolt* is a fine new steamer of 1,100 tons, this being her first commission, armed with two 84-pounders on travelling carriages, and two 64-pounders amidships, with a crew of 120 men, commanded by Captain Boyle, a very kind and obliging man, at whose table I was entertained during the voyage.

"Had a beautiful run with a smooth sea, and nothing remarkable to mark the passage until the evening of the 3rd, when, in rounding Point Recife about 6 p.m., the vessel struck heavily on a rock, while she was going nearly at full pace, and damaged herself so extensively that she began to fill with water immediately. The pumps attached to the steam-engine were immediately put on, and all the crew set to bale with buckets, but the water gained so rapidly on her that before she could be run into the Bay and beached it had put three out of the four furnaces out, and was up to the bars of the fourth. Had that been put out, the pumps and paddles would have stopped at the same moment, and she must have gone down, and I think a couple of hundred yards more of deep water would have tried the experiment of how far the paddle-box boats were capable of accommodating the whole crew. The boats were all ready in slings, and I dare say every soul on board would have been saved, as the sea was quite smooth; but in all probability we should have got wet jackets and lost all our baggage.

"When the accident happened, the Captain ordered the engines to be reversed, and minute guns to be fired, but the stupid people on shore, who were looking out for the Governor, and Commander of the Forces, took these for a salute on the occasion; and it was not until we were quite close in that Lieutenant Jameson, the Port Captain, who had formerly been first Lieutenant on board the *Thunderbolt*, discovered that some accident had happened, and put off immediately in his gig to afford assistance, and only got on board just in time to direct where she

should be grounded, which was done directly, off the mouth of a small stream that empties itself into the Bay near its western extremity a little way from the commissariat stores.

"We had had a beautiful passage, and should have completed the voyage under fifty hours had not the accident happened. The Captain and Master were on the port paddle-box when she struck, and nothing could exceed the coolness with which the former gave his orders after the unfortunate accident had occurred. The latter, perhaps, will not be held excused for venturing in so near shore, seeing that the vessel touched at the same place on her last voyage when she came down in January, 1847, for Sir P. Maitland.

"We were all on deck and speculating whether we should get in with sufficient daylight to land, and I had just been observing to one of the officers what was the use of heaving the lead with that depth of water, having heard the leadsman call 17 fathoms, when he remarked that it was an order of the Service to keep the lead going while in sight of land, and were it to be omitted, and any accident happen to the vessel, the Captain and Master would both be dismissed the Service. I had hardly replied: 'There is little fear of any accident occurring with our present depth of water,' when the vessel struck heavily and lurched over, but got clear in a few moments.

"In a minute or two one of the engineers came on deck as pale as death, and reported to the Captain that the water was rushing into the engine-room with great rapidity. His answer was: 'Put all power on, and set the pumps to work.' At the same time he gave directions for the paddle-box and other boats to be cleared and got ready for launching. When I saw the engineer come on deck, I thought the shock had deranged or broken some of the machinery, and it was not until I heard him speak to the Captain that I was aware of the serious damage the vessel had sustained. Indeed, so sudden was the shock, and so short her duration on the rock, that I thought

beyond stripping a sheet or two of copper off her bottom she could not have sustained any material injury.

"The rate at which she was going, however, and the pointed nature of the obstruction she met with, it was afterwards proved, had stripped her bottom and torn off planking to the extent of 12 or 13 feet under the coal-bunkers. No wonder, therefore, that the water rushed in rapidly and alarmed the engineers, and that while she was being forced through the water by steam power the pumps and men were unable to keep the leak under.

"The Port Captain offered me a passage on shore in his boat, but, as she was detained to take a despatch which Captain Boyle wished to forward by express to the Admiral in Simon's Bay that night, I thought I might as well get into one of the shore boats, and land my servant and the few things I had on board. This I did, and took a man who was recommended by the coxswain of the Port Captain's boat; but, unfortunately, I did not make a bargain with him, thinking, as the sea was smooth and the distance from shore not more than a couple of hundred yards, that it could not be much; but when I got to the Phœnix Tavern, and they demanded £3 for their services, I was perfectly thunderstruck, and, after much debating and abuse on their part, I agreed to give them £2, for which they abused me like a thief, as if I had really robbed them of something that was their due; and at last they got so noisy and bad that old Bosworth, the landlord of the inn, shoved them out of his house, being ashamed of his townspeople's barefaced and unreasonable imposition. It must have been pretty bad when he interfered, for he was no light hand at charging himself, as I found when I had to pay his bill some three or four days afterwards, in which I noticed my servant charged 5s. a day for board, besides extras.

"One of the ruffian boatmen, by way of an excuse for their preposterous charges, put it on the footing of saving my life from a sinking ship; and when I told him that the ship could not possibly sink any lower than she was,

as she was aground, and as for saving my life, that was not in the least danger, as I was in the Port Captain's boat when I unluckily got into his without previously making a bargain with him as to how much I was to pay—which I thought in common honesty, considering that the wind was off shore and there was no surf on the beach, ought to have been about 10s., and that I had no doubt he would gladly have brought me for that had I made a bargain with him, as 5s., I understood, was the ordinary fare for landing in a surf-boat when there was a heavy swell on—his impudent reply was that I might want a boat on some future occasion. To which I added, 'It is very probable, my friend, but I will look out and see if I cannot find a more conscientious man than yourself in this honest village;' and there our colloquy was terminated by friend Bosworth pushing him out of the room. The best joke of all was that a set of fellows were sent down to dun me the next day for getting my luggage out of the boat, and helping my servant to carry it up to the inn. However, I was not in a humour to be victimized any more, and the honest men were compelled to go away empty-handed. Boatmen in all parts of the world are great rogues, and take advantage wherever they can, but I think the Port Elizabeth men stand at the head of their craft in these respects, and as there are no Port Regulations to restrain them they do just what they like, and there is no one to control them or to appeal to when a person is plundered as I was.

"At Mr. Bosworth's I found the officers of the 90th, who had marched into Port Elizabeth that morning, at dinner. The 90th Regiment, after ten years' service in Ceylon, were detained at the Cape on their way home last year by Sir P. Maitland, and sent to the frontier. An order had been received by him to send them to England, and they were on their way down to Cape Town, and were to have embarked in the *Thunderbolt* the next day had she not met with her accident. The 90th seems to be an unfortunate Corps at sea, for a hurricane over-

took the *Maria Soames* that was bringing one wing of them home, and she was obliged to put into the Mauritius in a crippled state, having lost several men from suffocation in the hold when the hatches were battened down during the tempest. One-half of the men in camp here seem non-effective, and it was an absurdity to drag them up to the frontier for active field-service. Had a couple of hundred men been selected from the Regiment, and the remainder of the Corps allowed to proceed on their homeward voyage, some good might have been expected from the arrangement; but, as it was managed, little service was obtained from the Corps, and much expense incurred by their detention. The Officers have allowed their beards to grow, and have a grotesque appearance. Major Eld, the Commanding Officer, has a black beard flowing down to his chest, and as he is a spare, gaunt man, it gives him much the appearance of the prints one sees of Don Quixote.

"*February 4th.*—Last night, when the tide rose, the cabins of the *Thunderbolt* were half filled with water, and the Officers were compelled to place their things on the upper deck. My cocked-hat case, which my servant, in his fright and confusion, had left on board, had a night's swim, and, when I got it on shore, the case was half full of sea-water. Of course, the hat, which was a new one, will be a red one in a short time, but I may consider myself fortunate in getting my other things on shore, even at the expense of £2. Had they remained on board, they would all have been spoilt, as I should not have been there to look after them and get them put beyond the reach of the sea-water.

"The wind, fortunately, still continues to blow off shore, and the sea is smooth. The crew has been landed, and they are busy in getting baggage and stores on shore as fast as they can, assisted by a strong fatigue party of the 90th.

"Captain Boyle has ordered additional pumps to be made, and when they have lightened her as much as

they can by taking her guns and stores out, they will see what impression can be made on the leak by employing a strong party to work them.

"The crew of the *Thunderbolt* are encamped on the beach opposite to the vessel, and no men can exert themselves with a better will than they do, and, if success in their undertaking is to be obtained, they certainly deserve it. But I sadly fear from the nature of the injury she has sustained, and the precarious position she is placed in, that she will become a total wreck.

"*February 4th, Port Elizabeth.*—The 90th Regiment, which arrived from the frontier yesterday, is encamped on the heights above the town, and the 91st are in barracks.

"There is a stone barrack covered with slate built near a small fort, called Fort Indiruck, on the heights over the town where the 90th are encamped, capable of accommodating twenty-three men. It consists of one large room, with a small one partitioned off at one end for the non-commissioned Officer. The floor is boarded, and the building is ventilated by means of doors and windows. There are stores under the barrack-rooms, which insures their being free from damp, and aids the ventilation of the building. The hospital is an old thatched building, formerly an Officer's quarter, consisting of two rooms, one of which is appropriated for a surgery and sergeant's room; the other is capable of accommodating five sick with inconvenience. There is no kitchen, store, or any out-office. The cooking is done in the barrack kitchen, which is situated midway between the barrack and the hospital, and is distant from the latter about 30 yards.

"Between the present hospital and the kitchen the foundation of a small hospital was laid during the last Kafir war, but it has never been proceeded with in consequence of what were considered more important and pressing objects on the immediate frontier occupying the whole attention of the Engineering Department; but if this

is to be continued as the port of embarkation for the whole Army employed on the frontier, it ought to be completed, as men are frequently landed sick from vessels when troops arrive, and they are still more frequently sent down from the frontier as invalids proceeding to England either for discharge from the Service or change of climate, and are detained here until transport can be provided, and require medical treatment; to say nothing of the advantage of making this a kind of convalescent station for the frontier, as the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth is famed for its salubrity, and invalids in civil life go down there from Graham's Town for the benefit of their health with the happiest effect.

"The port is under the care of Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Dr. Jameson, who arrived here on the 27th, and relieved Mr. Davies, a civil practitioner who had been in charge of the garrison since April last. The 90th are in charge of their own Assistant-Surgeon, Mr. Maclure, who served with them in Ceylon and accompanied them to the frontier. Since Surgeon Elison's departure for England, in November last, on sick leave, at the recommendation of a Medical Board, he has been in charge of the regiment.

"Dr. Jameson is an attentive officer, but has evidently been little accustomed to the management of a hospital, and will be likely to magnify trifles into serious obstacles. I have placed him here partly on account of his health, which suffered on board ship, and partly because he and his Creole wife would be helpless if exposed to difficulties, but principally because I think him well fit for the gossiping situation of a port of entry and departure. As tents cannot be obtained for the sick the barrack must be given up for their accommodation, and the healthy men of the 91st placed under canvas.

"*Friday, February 5th.*—Wind continues to blow offshore, and the people are working hard at the *Thunderbolt.*

"*Saturday, February 6th.*—Wind still favourable for

the *Thunderbolt*. No progress has been made as yet in getting her off.

"Maclure let me have a Kafir horse that he got out of the Kraal at Black Drift, for which I gave him a receipt. The Commissary has promised to let me have a waggon to-morrow, and I shall start for Graham's Town in company with a Mr. Unna, a merchant, who has requested to be allowed to accompany me.

"*Sunday, February 7th.*—The crew of the *Thunderbolt* and a strong fatigue party of the 90th Regiment have been pumping all night without making the least impression on the leak. The wind has set in from the south-east, with a considerable swell, and the probability is that she will become a complete wreck in a few hours, as her stern is settled deeper in the sand, and the sea is making a clear break over it.

"Staff-Surgeon First-Class Dr. Atkinson and Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Black arrived from Cape Town on the *Johanna*, and landed this morning, but left their baggage on board. They sailed from Cape Town ten days ago.

"The *Conch*, with Assistant-Staff-Surgeons Sparrow and Nicholson on board, arrived about midday, but there was too much surf to admit of their getting on shore.

"*Monday, February 8th.*—Was disappointed in getting a waggon yesterday, and the Commissary has just engaged one for me to start at midday. The Graham's Town post has brought an account of a man having been shot on the Beaufort Rand by the Kafirs, and that the Kafirs are entering the Colony again in great numbers through the Fish River bush. Mr. Unna, who was to have ridden one of my horses and shown me the road, and whose bag and box were in my waggon, became so much alarmed at the account that he declined proceeding without an escort, and I was compelled to start alone.

"The poor man seemed so utterly paralyzed by fear at the mere report of danger that he would have been worse than useless on the road had any real danger arisen, so that I could not regret his absence, and his

cowardice was so abject that I could not suppress a feeling of contempt for a thing so vile. He was making money rapidly by the war, and I dare say would talk bravely when he got away and considered himself safe.

" When the 90th were on their march down from Black Drift to Port Elizabeth, they outspanned about five miles from the latter place on a barren piece of waste land by the wayside, which happened to belong to a very consequential little man of the name of Chase, who, because his permission had not been asked, wrote to Major Eld, when it was dark, the men's fires lighted, and their dinners nearly cooked, that he and the troops under his command were trespassing, and, if he did not remove immediately, he would summons him before the Magistrate's court for the trespass. Major Eld replied verbally that he was not aware when he outspanned that the land belonged to anyone, that it was then too late to remove the camp, as the men's dinners were cooking, but the Adjutant should write an answer to Mr. Chase's note. By some mistake, the Adjutant omitted to do so, and, to add to the magnate's ire, a Lieutenant who had been sent out to forage rode up to the little man, and asked him if he knew where he could purchase some eggs and milk. 'Get off my property, sir! No eggs and milk are sold here. You and the whole party are trespassing, and I will prosecute you according to law.' And the next day, sure enough, the Major was served with a regular legal summons, citing him to appear before the Magistrate at Port Elizabeth on Saturday, the 6th of February, and answer for trespassing on the property of John Chase, Esqre., with 500 men and 300 oxen, cutting down his wood to make fires, and eating up his herbage and otherwise doing damage to the said John Chase to the amount of £20.

" On the Saturday I went to the Magistrate's court to hear the cause tried, and when the appointed hour, eleven, arrived, Major Eld, of H.M. 90th Regiment, was cited to appear and answer the complaint lodged against

him ; but no Major Eld, or anyone on his behalf, having answered to the citation, Mr. John Chase was desired to make a statement of his grievance, which he did in a pompous manner, asserting that great injury had been done to him by the trespass, and that he had been much insulted by an officer in an excited state, which he insinuated might be accounted for by the time of day, riding up and down near his house, wanting to buy eggs and milk, that he had duly warned the Major and the party that they were trespassing, and that he brought the present action, not from any vindictive feeling, but to protect himself from similar intrusion in future. It was clear throughout that the little man's pride had been hurt by the way the Major treated him and his threat ; and what added to his mortification was that he, John Chase, the owner of Cradoc Estate, should be taken for a huckster and a dealer in eggs and milk. What deepened the feeling of anger was the circumstance that, had he remained in his original sphere of life, it would have been his proper vocation ; but by sharpness and a lucky marriage with an amorous widow he had risen above his former grade in society. The Major was wanting both in sense and the common courtesies of society to allow his note to remain unanswered or unreplied to by a personal call of explanation and apology which would have set the whole matter right, and would have obviated any necessity for legal proceedings.

" In support of the charge, Mr. Chase called his overseer and messenger, who was sorely puzzled when the Magistrate, with a show of justice, questioned him as to the number of men, and how he made out 300 oxen from ten spans of twelve oxen each. This last touch floored him completely, and Dogberry was beginning his charge, first lauding his friend and neighbour's liberality by stating that on one occasion during wet weather, when he himself had written to him to afford shelter in one of his sheds to a party of troops moving up to Graham's Town, that he had readily assented, and would have

afforded them the required shelter from the inclemency of the weather had they moved up, but from some cause or other the troops did not march, and his friend was not called upon to fulfil his promise; but, still, as he had expressed his readiness to afford the accommodation, he was entitled, in his opinion, to the same praise as if he had actually given it! He next entered on the subject of martial law, which had been repealed about ten days before, and stated that, had martial law still existed, he could not have interfered. His friend must then have appealed to the Commander of the Forces or the Governor of the Colony. But, martial law being abolished, civil law resumed its power, and private property *must be protected from military aggression*—as if the poor Major and his men had robbed Mr. Chase's hen-roosts in place of offering to purchase their contents with good and lawful coin of the realm. At this point in the proceeding, Don Quixote in person and one or two of the officers of his regiment sailed into court, and the case was reopened, without some of Mr. Chase's embellishments, for his edification. The Major, with good sense, said it was respect for the civil law that made him answer the Magistrate's summons, and that he was sorry that a mistake as to time had given him the trouble of going over the case again. That in outspanning where he did, as there was no boundary-mark in this country, he had not the most distant idea that he was trespassing on anyone's property, until he received Mr. Chase's note, which he begged to submit to the Magistrate, and when he received that it was too late at night to move his camp, as the oxen were dispersed and the men's dinners nearly cooked. That he and his Regiment had been detained at the Cape, on their way home after long service in another colony, and had been sent up to the frontier to defend the lives and properties of the inhabitants of this country, and that he must confess he was not prepared for such a proceeding as this for an unintentional wrong, if any had been done; but from

the barren site where he was encamped—water being his main object—it was absurd to state it at £20. That in this country there were no boundary-marks, and he had not seen one single gentleman's house in all his march down from Black Drift, and that, when he encamped on what appeared to be Mr. Chase's property, he neither saw any house nor was he aware that anyone was near. Had he had good sense enough to stop here, he would have produced an effect and had a good case, but, unfortunately, he stated that he should submit the whole matter to the Governor, which set Dogberry's back up; and he said—and properly, too—that he would be unworthy to sit there if he were afraid of the Governor in the due administration of justice, and as the trespass had been clearly proved against him and his party, he sentenced him to pay a fine of £1 for the damage done to Mr. Chase's property, and the expenses of the case; and there the matter ended.

"The Major declared he would not pay the fine, but, as he had committed other silly irregularities on his march down, I heard that he thought better of it. What redress the authorities gave him, I don't know, but I fear not much. Since then he has been quarrelling with old Captain Pratt about command at Port Elizabeth.

"At midday on the 8th of February, my valorous fellow-traveller and guide having deserted me, I started on horseback alone to find my way to Graham's Town the best way I could, leaving my second horse and servant to come along with the waggon which started at the same time, but which would travel much more slowly than a person on horseback is accustomed to do in this country.

"About four miles from Port Elizabeth I met Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, one of the seven Field Officers who had been sent out by the Commander-in-Chief to assist in organizing the provisional levies that had been raised in the Colony, returning home on account of his

eyes, which had suffered much from inflammation during his residence on the frontier. He was quite furious at the way he and the other officers had been treated, and he swore he would publish the whole thing when he got to England. He said nothing could have been more infamously managed than the whole war had been, and that he and the other officers, when they arrived, had not only been thrust aside, but absolutely prevented from doing anything; and that on one occasion, when some men who were under his command were ordered on some service, he was told he could only accompany them as a volunteer.

"How far his strictures on the management of the Army were correct I am not prepared to say; but strange stories of mismanagement and indecision are afloat, and, if he have the boldness to publish what he threatened, an investigation must take place. But I dare say before he gets to England he will take a different view of matters, and, even if he should not, some of his friends will point out the dangerous ground he is treading on; for if he make any statements that are not well founded, the authorities at the Horse Guards will make him answerable for them.

"After I passed the Zwartkopf River, having been warned not to turn to the left, as that would take me to Utenhagr, I asked a boy the road, and he pointed out one to the right, which I thought must be the proper one, and I followed it until nearly four o'clock, when I began to think that it was not sufficiently frequented for the highroad to Graham's Town, and I rode up to the first farmhouse I saw to inquire my way. The good woman of the house spoke nothing but Dutch, and I nothing but English, so that our colloquy was quite unintelligible to each other. At length she called a negro who spoke a little English, and from him I learned that I had come three hours' ride out of my way. He said I must ride along a kloof that he pointed out to me, until I came to a white house on the top of a hill, and they

would put me into the right road. I rode on as he directed for about two hours, when I reached the house he had mentioned; but there, unfortunately, the only person who spoke English, a woman, had never been half a mile from the house in the direction I was going, but she said that if I kept along the road I would come down on the Sunday River, and that Taylor's Inn, she believed, was on the other side of the Drift. Having gained this cheering intelligence, I rode on in better spirits, and after descending some vile hills, I came down on the Sunday River, and was riding down to the Drift when a negro boy who was herding cattle called out to me that that river was flooded, and that I must not attempt to cross it, or I would be drowned. The river was certainly full up to the banks, but, not knowing its depth, I should have plunged in had I not obtained this friendly warning, and in all probability I should have lost my horse and saddle-bags, if I had not been drowned myself. The boy said I was an hour's ride from the Drift where the boat was, and that I must turn back and go over the hills to reach it. I gave him sixpence, and asked him to put me in the road, which he good-naturedly did; but we had not gone more than a couple of hundred yards when we met two men who were drunk, one of whom, he said, was his master; and when we came up to him, the master began to swear at him in Dutch. At length he turned angrily to me, and said: 'That's my servant, sir.' 'I don't at all dispute it, and there is no occasion for you to be angry with him or put yourself into a passion, as I have lost my way, and he prevented me from riding into the river, which I understand is flooded and not fordable, and I got him to put me on the road which leads to the Drift where the boat is.' The other man now joined in the conversation, and asked me where I was going to. I told him Graham's Town, and that I wanted to reach Taylor's Inn, if possible, that night. 'You cannot do that; it is too far, and the road too bad. You had better turn back with us, and if

you can sleep in the open air, we can accommodate you.' 'Thank you for your civility,' I said. 'I can do that anywhere. Good-evening.' And I rode on. It soon got pitch-dark, and I began to regret having refused the rude accommodation offered me by my drunken friend, which, after all, might have been kindly meant; and at length the road became so steep, rough, and bad, that my horse, being fagged and beginning to trip, I was compelled to get off and lead him. I had plodded on in this way for more than a mile when, to my great joy, I spied a light in a window, which I made for; and when I reached the house, I knocked at the door to inquire my way to Taylor's Inn. The man of the house said: 'You are four miles from the ford; the river is flooded, and you will have to swim your horse across, if you can get the boatmen to hear you, which I very much doubt; and Taylor's Inn is at least three miles on the other side of the river. My house is humble, and the accommodation I can afford you poor, but if you can put up with it you are welcome.' I was but too happy to avail myself of his offer, for I felt quite exhausted, and I don't think my horse could have gone the distance that it was to Taylor's Inn, had the difficulties of the river been out of the question. Mr. Lewis—for that, I afterwards found, was the name of my interviewer—had my horse taken care of. He gave me some pale ale to drink in the first instance, and afterwards got me some tea and eggs, and made me a bed up in the room; and the next morning he gave me a cup of coffee, and sent me on my way rejoicing. He had a family of children and a wife, and for the entertainment he only charged 2s. for the forage for my horse. I left 5s. for his children, and would have given more, but, unfortunately, I could not find any more silver in my pocket; but if ever I live to travel that road again, I will not forget them. It is only under such circumstances that one can duly appreciate humble efforts at kindness. Had he served me after the fashion of the Dutch Boers I had just met, what

reason had I to complain of his incivility? He was not bound to afford me food and shelter because I had lost my way and got benighted. From him I learned that my Dutch friend had just come to the neighbourhood, and his drunken companion who offered me the out-of-door accommodation was the schoolmaster of his children. A fine example to learn the *ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes* from!

"*February 9th.*—Started at daylight, and crossed the Sunday River in a boat, swimming my horse after it, and arrived at Taylor's Inn about nine, where I breakfasted in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Niral, one of the Field Officers who had been sent out from England, and was returning home on account of his health. The river had been down for some days, and about 100 waggons had collected on the Algoa Bay side of it, waiting for it to subside. The water had fallen sufficiently for the waggons to pass when I reached the river, and I stood some time on the bank, watching the instinct of the oxen and the dexterity of the drivers in getting the waggons across the ford, for the river was still deep, and the current strong. About eleven I left Taylor's, and had a hot and suffocating ride through the Addo bush. There was not a breath of air. The heat of the sun was intense, and the quantity of dust raised by the numerous waggons passing along the road very distressing. I was compelled once or twice to get off my horse and take shelter under a tree, but when I got out on the Quagga flats this resource failed me, as there was not a single tree or bush near the road that would afford shelter either to man or horse; and by the time I reached the inn at Bushman's River I was quite exhausted, and so parched with thirst that I drank two pint bottles of ale and a whole juglet of water before it was quenched. After I had refreshed myself, and rested and fed my horse, I continued my journey to Sidbury, which place I reached about half an hour after nightfall. At the inn there I found Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Grant, who had been

shot through the left shoulder-joint, and Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Cameron attending on him. On their way up from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Mandeville had, in consequence of some foolish and unfounded report about Kafirs, loaded his gun with shot, cocked it, and put caps on, and left it in the waggon ready for action. The next morning Grant, seeing the gun in the waggon in this condition, imprudently laid hold of it by the muzzle to draw it out, when it went off, and the whole charge of shot went through his left shoulder about an inch and a half below the joint, fractured the humerus, and lodged under the edge of the scapula, where it was cut out by Mandeville. The accident happened on the evening of the 2nd, and up to this date he has not had a single unfavourable symptom. The injury, however, is a grave one, and the result may be serious. In all probability the movement of the joint will be impaired, if nothing worse happens. The slough is beginning to separate, and I have recommended that he should be kept quiet until that process is completed, and all danger of hæmorrhage over.

"*February* 10*th*, 1847.—Left Sidbury at 9 a.m., and reached Style's Hotel, in Graham's Town, at half-past three, where I found Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, of the Rifles, preparing to start for King William's Town. He came up with the Deputy-Commissary-General (Green) and the party of which Dr. Grant was one.

"Dined with him in the evening, and had some chat about men and things on the frontier."

When Dr. Hall wrote again to Mrs. Sutherland from Graham's Town, on the 18th of February, he told her what had already been recorded in his diary of the wreck of the *Thunderbolt* off Algoa Bay, and he continued as follows:

"Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley, the General, are expected here to-day or to-morrow. When they arrive all will be bustle and confusion, and I may not have time to write to you before I start for the

frontier, though I am not sure whether the General will require me to accompany him or not. However, should he not require my presence at headquarters, that will save me no trouble, as I shall have to make a tour and medical report of all the frontier stations.

" This is a dire country, and one cannot figure to one's self the fertility of the soil that has been described by interested parties. I rode up from Algoa Bay alone, and I can truly say that the whole country I passed through had the appearance of a barren wilderness. A gentleman was to have ridden one of my horses up and shown me the way, but on the morning I started the post arrived, and brought accounts of incursions of the Kafirs into the Colony again, and the poor man became so much alarmed at the prospect of being killed and eaten by the savages that he declined proceeding until a stronger escort than my six-revolver offered, and I was compelled to find the way in the best manner I could. This, I can assure you, is rather puzzling in some places, as the cattle are allowed to make their own road in the open country, and, where there are many tracks, it is difficult to say which is the right one. The first day I got wrong, and rode several miles out of my way, and got benighted, but the two following days I was more cautious, and got on very well. The heat was intense, and I suffered dreadfully from thirst, as I was compelled to ride in the heat of the sun to enable me to accomplish my daily distance with daylight, and there are no purling streams in this parched country to quench a traveller's thirst. Now and then you come on a pool of muddy water, full of all kinds of abominations, but nothing but the most intense suffering from thirst could tempt one to touch it. Since I arrived here there have been two or three heavy falls of rain, and the surrounding hills begin to look green in place of brown, which is a relief to the eye, though wet weather is not the most pleasant to go bivouacking in. I find I shall be kept busy here, so you must not expect long letters from me until my return to Cape Town,

when I will give you a full, true and particular account of all I have seen and done. Tell Georgie I will endeavour to obtain a sketch of a Kafir and Hottentot for her, that she may see the true line of beauty in the human form divine! There are hordes of Fingos in the neighbourhood of this place—a filthy race, much inferior to the negroes in the West.

"*Sunday, 21st.*—No account of the Governor and General yet, so I fancy the *President* must have encountered contrary winds on her passage from Simon's to Algoa Bay. I see by the Cape Town papers, which reached us yesterday, that they have embarked, and that it took fifteen waggons to transport their baggage to St. Simon's Bay, which looks as if they intended to make a lengthened sojourn on the frontier.

"Disturbances have taken place in Natal, and part of the troops there have been compelled to take the field, and I have had to detach one of my ***Lady Flora*** Assistants on that service. Dr. Atkinson and his two Assistants started this morning for the camp at King William's Town, so that the ***Lady Flora*** people are already disposed of and pretty well scattered. Atkinson came away from Cape Town looking quite a martyr. His wife, I dare say, considers me a brute for sending him away, but, as Sam Weller says, 'duty afore pleasure.' She now sees the propriety of the advice that was given to her in England, and rails against those who persuaded her to come out, quite forgetting that it was her own wilfulness and frantic letters that made her husband go for her when the vessel put back to Portsmouth.

"Mrs. Jameson detests this country, and wants her husband to exchange and get out of it. A Mr. Hadaway, Surgeon to the 91st Regiment, has sent in his papers to exchange with a Dr. Forrest, on the Staff, who is going to England, and Medical Board and I had a fierce attack from his wife, a pretty, lively Greek lady, to know when I was going to order her and her husband to Cape Town, as she was quite sick of the frontier. Bless the ladies!

What can one do? There's no pleasing them all, and I verily believe the best plan will be to do Roman, and leave them quite out of the question.

"Another of the Medical Officers, I hear, is going to take unto himself a helpmate, and the lady left this place a few days ago for Fort Beaufort under military escort, to prevent the Kafirs from seizing the tonga in its transit from one place to the other.

"It has been raining every day of late, and the country is beginning to look quite green and pretty. Rain, however, is not pleasant for travellers, and I hope it will clear up before I start on my tour of inspection."

For two months his private letters appear to have been discontinued, but his diary was more regularly kept, though it is wanting for some days.

"*February 24th.*—Sir George Berkeley arrived in Graham's Town accompanied by Captain Berkeley, his son, who is his Military Secretary; Mrs. Rumley, the wife of Major Rumley of the 6th Regiment, his daughter; and Captain Seymour of the Fusilier Guards, his Aide-de-Camp.

"Sir George came to Style's Hotel, and I gave him up my bed and sitting-room. He intends to occupy the mess-house in the Drostdy Barracks, which has been cleared out for his accommodation by order of Colonel Somerset.

"*Saturday, February 27th.*—Sir Henry Pottinger, the Governor, arrived in Graham's Town and took up his residence in the Government House, which he has rented for a year, I understand, at £300 per annum.

"Sir Henry and his suite, which consists of Mr. Wansnam, his Secretary, as High Commissioner; Mr. Burgass, a barrister; Captain Young, his Military Secretary; and Lieutenant Fellows, his Aide-de-Camp, dined with Sir George at Style's on the day of his arrival.

"Visited the Gaol and Civil Infirmary with Mr. Atherstone, the District Surgeon. The Gaol is dirty, out of

repair, and insecure for the custody of its inmates. The Infirmary consists of two rooms in the front of the building opening out of each other, and a Surgery behind.

"The rooms are spacious enough, and capable of accommodating about a dozen sick, but the roof is out of order, the rain enters, and part of the ceiling has fallen.

"There are some twenty Kafir prisoners in gaol for different offences, and amongst them is the man who cut off the Hottentot's arm that was linked to the Kafir prisoner, and was the immediate cause of the present war.

"The party of Hottentots who shot Mr. Rhoode and burnt and plundered his house afterwards were in gaol also.

"The Kafirs are fine athletic men, and with one or two exceptions have open, good-humoured-looking countenances. The Hottentots, on the contrary, are puny and ill-favoured, and the principal in Mr. Rhoode's murder is a villainous-looking fellow.

"None of the sick were prisoners, and it is felt as a degradation by the sick poor to be ordered into gaol when they require medical treatment. Young Mr. Atherstone mentioned one case which marks strongly the sense of public opinion on this subject. A young but poor man who had been serving as a burgher in the Kafir War got wounded, and was attacked with symptoms of tetanus. Mr. Atherstone pointed out the serious nature of his complaint, and recommended him to go into the Infirmary, where he could be seen oftener and be better taken care of. But the lad, with proper feeling, said he would rather die of his wound, which was creditable, than be disgraced by being committed to the gaol Infirmary by a Magistrate's order, for all cases that are admitted require that authority.

"Mr. Atherstone vaccinates all the Kafirs and coloured people that are committed to gaol and bear no marks of vaccination or smallpox; and by that means smallpox has been kept under in this part of the Colony.

"When I visited the gaol, there were forty prisoners confined in it, and several witnesses.

"Sir Henry Pottinger held a levée to-day. Attended it to pay my respects to him. A number of people there, some of them odd-looking folks. Amongst them was a Kafir Chief called Hermanus, who was dressed in the European fashion.

"*March 7th.*—Assistant-Surgeon Allen, of the Cape Corps, who was ordered to Bathurst on the 4th, but who was prevented from setting out for want of conveyance for his baggage, started this day.

"*March 10th.*—Accompanied Sir George Berkeley and his suite, consisting of his personal Staff—Captain Burnaby, commanding Artillery, Captain Walpole, commanding Engineer, and an escort of the 7th Guards and Cape Corps—to Bathurst, which we reached at 2 p.m.

"Lunched and dined with Major Stocks, who commands the district, and slept at Mrs. Hartley's Inn, which is a very clean one. There are a few of the Cape Mounted Rifles quartered here, and seventy-five men of the Graham's Town Levy, who have thirty-nine women and twenty-eight children with them.

"The Cape Corps are in tents, and the Levy men occupy two small forts, built on a ridge to the northward of the village, which has wattle-and-dab accommodation for forty-eight men, and the remainder occupy tents.

"There is no hospital at this station, and when I visited it there were no sick.

"Bathurst is a nice village situated in a pleasant district. There is a good deal of land under tillage, and it reminds a person of England more than any other place I have seen in the Colony. Mrs. Hartley's Inn, too, is clean, and resembles the better class of country inns at home. My servant, who had been drunk overnight, was so muddled in the morning that he could not pack my led horse, and he was left behind on the road, and did not reach Bathurst till the evening.

Hitherto he has had nothing to do, and he seems to be sulky and inclined to be insolent, and, I fear, will be of little use to me in the field.

" Here commence my campaigning difficulties.

" *March 11th.*—Left Bathurst about six in the morning, and rode across the country to the Fish River mouth, which we reached at two, and passed in a boat, swimming our horses across. Here we overtook our waggons, which had left Graham's Town two days before. On crossing the country from Bathurst to the Fish River mouth we came across several farmhouses in ruins, which had been burnt by the Kafirs on their inroads into the Colony last year. One, Mr. Biddulph's, struck me with the beauty of its situation. It had been built on an eminence with undulating rich meadow-land covered with luxuriant grass, at the time we passed it, for a considerable distance all round. These grassy slopes were dotted here and there with clumps of trees and underwood, which gave the scene a park-like appearance. At a short distance from the house was a deep and inexhaustible pond of water, called in the country a Vley, which renders the property very valuable. Amongst the rushes and reeds of this pool some wild duck and deer were found and fired at by the sportsmen of the party, but without effect. At Waterloo Bay we put up and dined and slept at Mrs. Finlayson's tavern, which is a temporary wooden shed. The garrison of Waterloo Bay at the period I visited it was composed of 380 men, who had eighteen sick. The men were accommodated in tents, and the sick in two hospital marquees. The camp is situated on a slight eminence about a quarter of a mile from the seashore, and has a river called the 'Old Maids' running past it. The water of this river is brackish, and during the dry season it is not a running stream, the water merely lodging in pools, which become filled with animalculæ. This water, which was found to be a fertile source of bowel-complaint among the men, is used at present only for washing and such-like purposes.

The water that the men drink is brought by carts from a spring about two miles distant, and since this plan was adopted the number of attacks of bowel-complaint have sensibly decreased. But the duty is very severe here, and the men of the 6th are young and many of them unformed soldiers, and there is much disease and irregularity among them.

"In one of the hospital marquees there are twelve iron bedsteads with bedding complete, which are appropriated for the accommodation of the worst cases. In the other marquee the men lie on the ground. I suggested to Major Rumley, the Officer in command of the post, to send out a fatigue-party into the neighbouring jungle, which joins the camp, to cut bush to form hurdles as temporary beds for the sick, which would keep them off the ground and render them more comfortable. His dogged answer was that he had no men to spare for such duty—though it was for the comfort of the men of his own Regiment!

"The complaints under treatment were chiefly bowel-complaints, and there were no serious cases in either tent, one of which Mr. Bindon, the Assistant-Surgeon of the 6th Regiment, is in charge of, and has thirteen men under his care; the other, where the sick of the Burghers and other detachments are accommodated, is under the superintendence of Assistant-Staff-Surgeon Dr. M——.

"He has no cases entered, and everything in his establishment is in confusion. His medicine-chest, in place of being in the hospital, where it ought to have been, was exposed to the weather at the entrance of his own tent, and many of the medicines were spoiled, as well as a small supply of medicines for the Burgher forces, furnished by the Colony, similarly exposed. He has a portable case of capital instruments in bad order, and his lancets and the few instruments in his pocket-case are totally unserviceable. Ordered to provide himself with others.

"Mr. Bindon's establishment was better arranged,

and his cases were entered. His medicine-chest was incomplete, and the supply of medicine small. His portable case of capital instruments was totally unserviceable, his pocket-case incomplete, and both it and his lancets in indifferent order.

" My servant, who was muddled when he left Graham's Town yesterday, appears to have refreshed himself again at Bathurst last night, and, when he was to have started this morning, nothing was ready; consequently, the things on the pack-horse were badly arranged again, and he was soon left behind. The General directed two of the return escort to be sent after him to put him into the right road, but he did not arrive until five o'clock in the evening, and most of the things that were on the horse had been kicked off over and over again. He had broken the ramrod of my rifle in beating the horses with it, and the tin sword-case was bruised and flattened from the pack-horse kicking it and trampling on it when it was on the ground. He had delayed until the waggons had proceeded on to Peddie, so that I was obliged to leave my carpet-bag, small leather valise, and sword-case to be sent on by the next convoy of waggons, which the issuer promised faithfully to do.

" *March 12th.*—Servant stupid from drink, and sulky at having anything to do. Started at ten and reached Newtondale, a military post about eleven miles on the road to Peddie, at twelve.

" Newtondale was a missionary station formerly, and was burnt by the Kafirs last year—church and all! At present a company of the Rifles and some Burghers are stationed there. They are partly hutted and partly accommodated in tents. The Medical Officer from Fort Peddie visits this post, and the sick are sent into hospital there when they require medical treatment.

" Arrived at Fort Peddie at 3 p.m., and inspected the hospital of the 6th Foot. Twenty-three sick in hospital, chiefly from bowel-complaints and fevers. Two of the fever cases dangerously ill. In addition to the sick in

hospital, fifteen were sick in quarters for want of hospital accommodation.

"The hospital, which consists of a wattle-and-dab building, is capable of accommodating nine patients. The rest of the sick are accommodated in rooms of the same construction, detached from the hospital, and taken from the accommodation of the Ordnance Department. The hospital was clean. The books and diet rules were regularly kept, and the cases all entered in the Medical Register. The surgery was well arranged, and the medicines properly labelled. The instruments are in good condition. Dr. Murtagh, Surgeon of the 6th, is the Medical Officer in charge.

"The barracks consist of a stone building covered with zinc, built on three sides of a square, and the fourth side enclosed with a loopholed wall, for the Infantry, capable of accommodating sixty-three men; a barrack of the same construction for Cavalry, capable of accommodating sixty-three men and sixty-four horses. These barracks are ventilated by means of doors and windows which open into the barrack-square, and loopholes in the exterior wall.

"The military defences consist of a star fort at one end of the cantonment, which contains the commissariat stores, and a square martello tower with a gun mounted on it at the other, where the powder is lodged. Between these two defences the Officers' quarters are built, and houses for the permanent staff of the station, and on the brow of the hill on which the garrison is situated a part of the garrison is encamped.

"*March 13th.*—This afternoon, about four o'clock, some excitement was occasioned by eight or nine Kafirs driving off the draught-oxen from the Downs about a mile distant from the Fort, and in sight of the garrison, and getting them into one of the kloofs or wooded ravines which run down towards the Fish River bush. An alarm was given, and some Fingos and a drunken cobbler of the name of McGovern, a discharged soldier, started

in pursuit. These were followed by the General and his staff, and a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles, as soon as their horses, which were all outside at grass, could be caught and saddled; but before they came up the first party had recovered the cattle, fifty-four in number, and were driving them out of the bush again. The Kafirs, however, did not appear the least alarmed, and when they got a little distance off they dared their pursuers to follow them.

"Had it not been for the valour of my neighbour the cobbler and the promptitude of the Fingos, the cattle would have been far beyond reach before the Cape Corps could have been ready to follow them. With a cunning and bold enemy at all time hovering about, it is strange that no provision, such as a small inlying picket, with their horses always saddled and ready for any emergency, was never deemed necessary by those who were in command. The General, however, after this gave the necessary orders to have some cavalry always ready to mount at a moment's notice.

"One cannot help admiring the boldness of the exploit, and almost wishing that they had been successful in their foray. Only the disgrace to the military would have been so great, and the Colonial Press is at all times eager to seize on any circumstance that will tell against them; and certainly this would have been a legitimate case for editorial comment, and the mighty 'We!' I have no doubt, would have made the most of it. Truth is not so much an object as what will meet the public taste, and just now any abuse of the military and those in authority is well received by the Afrikanders.

"*Tuesday, 16th.*—The Kafirs succeeded in driving off three span of oxen from the neighbourhood of the Fort to-day. The fact is, proper precautions are never taken with the cattle, and, as the owners are compensated for their losses by Government, they are indifferent about the matter. No cattle-guard is even sent out with the draught oxen; they are only accompanied by a few un-

armed boys, who allow them to wander where they like; and, when they stray into the woods through their sleepy negligence, they come bawling in that Kafirs have driven them off. When Kafirs are really in the neighbourhood, the temptation to steal is irresistible, for they know well enough, if a couple of them appear, the herds will all run away and allow them to drive off the cattle at their leisure. Had Government denied compensation for losses of this nature, the owners would have taken good care to send out armed people with them, and very few robberies would, in my opinion, have taken place. Under the present system each owner is paid £1 a day for his waggon and oxen, whether employed or standing still, and many of them have never stirred from the same spot for two or three months together; the driver and forelooper are rationed, and he receives compensation for his cattle if lost in the service. So that he has an interest in preserving a bad or worn-out span of oxen, and some curious discoveries have been made of late both as to the class of individuals that supplies Government with waggons, and the system of having their oxen stolen by the Kafirs. Many Officers of the Army are supposed to be waggon-contractors, particularly those of the Cape Mounted Rifles, but whether this report be true or not I cannot say. One Officer is reported to have boasted of having done rather a sharp thing at the Government kraal; he does not, however, belong to the Cape Corps.

"The story goes that Captain M——, seeing others turning an honest penny by waggon-hire, thought he might at least try his hand in the contract way so far as his own waggon was concerned, and he accordingly purchased a waggon and a span of indifferent oxen. A few days afterwards his oxen, either by design or accident, got mixed with the Government oxen when out grazing, and were driven into the Government kraal with them in the evening. This worthy member of an honourable profession then applied to the Officer in charge of the

kraal to allow his servant to go in and separate his cattle from the general herd, and he afterwards boasted that the next day he found himself in possession of one of the best spans to be seen in camp. This individual certainly makes no secret of having a waggon of his own hired to Government, and he says that within the first three months he received more for the hire from Government than the whole thing cost him at first. The other Officers who have waggons in Government employ have them engaged in the names of other parties, but the thing is quite notorious, and whether any notice will be taken of it remains to be seen.

"*March 13th.*—Captain Burnaby made his men pitch my marquee near his own on the ground allotted for the Artillery; but as it had been done in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Michel of the 6th, who is in command here, and certainly without any wish on my part to trench on his dignity, and although Burnaby explained to him how the thing had occurred, he had bad taste enough to send his Quartermaster to me and Major Wittenhall, whose tent had been pitched next to mine and under similar circumstances, to say that they must be taken down and pitched among the tents of the detachments that were encamped on the brow of the hill between the quarters and the martello tower.

"The Major got angry with the poor Quartermaster for bringing him the message, and got into correspondence with the great man in office on the subject. I merely asked him if he had Colonel Michel's orders to strike my tent, and when he said no, I told him, very well, he could say that he had delivered the message to me.

"Of course, although I said nothing about the matter, yet it was soon known all through the cantonment, and I suppose came to the General's ears, for at dinner he asked me where I was going to pitch my tent. I told him Captain Burnaby had been good enough to pitch it for me near his own, but Lieutenant-Colonel Michel objected to its being there, and had sent me a message

to say it must be taken down. 'Nonsense,' he said, 'it is very well where it is, and if it suits your convenience, let it remain there.'

"The fact was, as I belonged to headquarters, the great man at Peddie had nothing to say to me, and I knew that very well; and I felt confident that, by allowing things to take their course, he would be sure to get the worst of it. Had he attempted to take my tent down, I should have gone at once to the General and made a complaint, but a message through his Quartermaster was a thing to laugh at, and not get angry about, as poor Major Wittenhall did.

"The Major, fortunately, was ordered into Graham's Town the day after his fracas with the Commandant, or we should have had a scene, as he felt sore at having been unceremoniously turned out of his quarters the day before by Michel for the accommodation of his wife, who was expected from Graham's Town.

"*March 17th.*—Occupied my marquee for the first time, and found it very snug. Since my arrival I have been stopping with Dr. Murtagh of the 6th, who has part of a wattle-and-dab house off the barrack grounds. This being Patrick's Day, the band of the Cape Mounted Rifles ushered it in with great noise, if not with sweet music.

"*March 19th.*—Rain at night. Sir Henry Pottinger arrived in camp in the evening. The large marquee, which had been pitched for his accommodation, came down. The pegs of my tent were nearly all drawn, when I got up at daylight, and, had a gust of wind come on, it would have fallen on me. My servant, ignorant of what was required, omitted to slacken the cords at night, and when the heavy rain set in, I did not like to turn out of my bed to do it. I preferred risking the chapter of accidents, and, as it turned out, no injury was sustained.

"*March 20th.*—Gave my servant Henry a sovereign in advance of wages, and I have no doubt he will get muddled—if liquor is to be obtained.

"*March 20th.*—There was a war-dance to-day by the Fort Peddie Fingos, organized by Captain Maclean, the Civil Commissioner for the Stambie tribes, and Mr. Shepstone, the Fingo Superintendent and Kafir interpreter — a most noisy and barbarous affair, got up for the edification of the Governor and General.

"Applied to have the Infantry barrack at Peddie converted into a hospital for the reception of the sick of all the posts in advance. This plan was opposed by Colonel Michel of the 6th, whose Regiment is in garrison here. Colonel Michel's letter sent to me for my opinion. His objections overruled and the arrangements ordered to be carried into effect.

"*March 25th.*—Left Peddie *en route* for the mouth of the Buffalo, with a column composed as follows: Rifle Artillery, 6th Foot, Rifles, Cape Mounted Rifles, Burghers, Fingos, to a total of 869, which was to be met by one of 350 under the command of Captain Napier of the Cape Mounted Rifles, that was to leave King William's Town on the same day. Went down the right bank of the Buffalo as far as the Goolah Heights, and then struck across the country, to meet the headquarter Division on the Chalumna. Encamped in the Beeka Valley, near Congo's Kraal, and rode four or five miles in advance with the General and Colonel Somerset to view the country.

"*March 26th.*—Marched about seven miles to a place called Wa-Wa, where we halted, and, finally, encamped for the night. Colonel Somerset left us here with a mounted patrol of 400 men, and crossed the Keiskamma at the Ebb and Flow Drift.

"Was very ill yesterday with headache and fever from cold caught when at Peddie the night it rained, so took coffee and no dinner, and feel better to-day. The coffee kept me awake all night, and I fainted to-day after exerting myself in the sun about my baggage.

"*March 27th.*—Marched at nine in the morning and crossed the Keiskamma River at the old Wesleyville Drift. Water in the bed of the river not more than

knee-deep, but there was a deep and awkward pool on the eastern side, through which the horses and oxen had to swim, and the water came into the waggons and over the guns of the artillery. Riding, there was no occasion to cross this part of the ford, as the horses could mount the rocks at the side, but the guns and waggons were compelled to pass through it. Ascent on the eastern side of the ford steep and rugged. It commenced to rain heavily soon after we passed the river, and, as there is an ascent for a couple of miles, I got wet through. The waggons had difficulty in crossing the ford, and after the rain many of them were unable to ascend the hill, and outspanned at its foot till the following morning.

"Encamped near the old missionary station at Wesleyville, which is beautifully situated, but was destroyed by the Kafirs at the commencement of the war last year—report says by Umhala, out of spite, because the missionaries would not allow him to convert their church into a harem for the accommodation of his numerous wives.

"Colonel Somerset rejoined the camp at 4 p.m. from his patrol toward the mouth of the Keiskamma, having captured 200 head of cattle from a band of Kafir thieves, who had just returned from the Colony, three of whom were shot and one taken prisoner. Some of the cattle had been stolen from Albany since the levy from that place left their homes, and one or two of the men on the patrol recognized their own property in the herd that was taken.

"*Sunday, March 28th.*—Marched about six miles and then mounted near the Chalumna River. Soon after the column halted, the post from Peddie arrived and brought word that a waggon with an escort of six men had stuck fast in ascending the hill between the Keiskamma and Wesleyville, and that they were apprehensive of being attacked by Kafirs, as there were several about, though the place was not more than a couple of miles distant from the camp we had left at half-past two

o'clock. A span of oxen and thirty men were immediately sent to their assistance and protection, and in the course of the evening the waggon, which belonged to Captain Maclean, the Stambie Commissioner, was brought into camp.

"*Monday, March 29th.*—Marched at nine, and crossed the bed of the Chalumna, which is not a running stream at this season of the year. Outspanned in a beautiful valley on its eastern side, where we were joined by Captain Napier's party from King William's Town. He had taken twenty head of cattle, but had seen no Kafirs. This morning some Burghers remained behind near our encamping-ground, and shot a Kafir who came from his hiding-place soon after the column moved off, to see what he could pick up where the tents had been.

"The column marched over a hilly country covered with dwarf mimosa thorn and without any trace of a road. Encamped in the evening at Pato's Ox Kraal, and during the night some captured cows were stolen from Colonel Somerset's camp.

"*March 30th.*—The Burghers remained behind as yesterday, and shot two Kafirs after the troops marched. When the column was outspanned at midday, some Kafirs made an attempt to drive a span of oxen into the bush, and were only prevented from effecting their purpose by the outcry that was raised by the boy who was herding them. On this occasion I had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of these gentry, as I had been collecting some heath on the opposite side of the ridge, and was going to this kloof, when I was called back by Captain Burnaby of the Royal Artillery, and Walpole of the Engineers, and I had not drunk my cup of coffee with them before the alarm was given.

"The Burghers tried their usual plan after outspan, and shot one Kafir and wounded another, but their friends in the bush, not relishing this kind of sport, made a furious attack on the rearguard and waggons and, after firing many shots, were driven off, having hit a hay waggon,

wounded an ox in the shoulder, and shot a Fingo through the posterior. A mounted escort was sent back from camp when the firing was heard, and forty men were left to patrol the road.

"*March 31st.*—Encamped about six miles from the mouth of the Buffalo. In the evening the General and his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Seymour, rode out to look at the country, and were fired at by a Kafir at ten yards distance, but without any mischief. At night some shots were fired into the camp, which fell harmless.

"*April 2nd, Good Friday.*—Camp stationary. Nunehe-Stork and Nunehe's son have come into camp, and Umhala has been sent for, but says he is sick. Captain Berkeley, Lieutenant Somerset, and Captains Somerset and Burnaby, were fired at in a kloof when out shooting this evening, but no one was hit.

"*April 3rd.*—Moved the camp down to the mouth of the Buffalo. Major Smith of the 73rd was shot through the neck about half-past eight o'clock last night close to the camp and within fifteen paces of a sentry. He was in a stooping position when the Kafir fired at him from behind a bank. In the evening a report was brought in that the Burghers had been attacked, and two men and two horses shot.

"*April 4th, Easter Sunday.*—Went on patrol with the General as far as Colonel Somerset's camp. Saw no Kafirs.

"The report about the Burghers was but too true. A strong party of Kafirs had taken up a judicious position at a narrow part of the road sheltered by rocks and bushes, and, when Muller's Burghers approached it, they commenced firing, and shot two horses, but hit none of the men. Muller's party, being a numerous one, succeeded in effecting their passage through the pass. But the firing having been heard in the camp they had just left, seven men volunteered to go and see what was the cause of it. When they entered the pass, they were immediately fired at by the Kafirs, and two of the

number, dismounting either to fire or escape, were left by their companions to their fate, and were soon barbarously murdered and horribly mutilated by the Kafirs. A party under the command of Lieutenant Bisset of the Cape Corps recovered the bodies and brought them into camp, where they were buried.

"*April* 10*th*.—To-day an enormous puff-adder was killed in Lieutenant Irvine's tent by his servant. Snakes abound in the long grass and sandy soil of this locality, but they are by no means pleasant bedfellows.

"*April* 13*th*.—Marched from the Buffalo mouth and encamped near Colonel Somerset on the Goolah Heights. Strength of Colonel Somerset's camp 790. Sick 15.

"*April* 17*th*, 1847.—Encamped at Mount Coke. There is a company here of the Rifles and some of the Albany Burghers under the command of Captain Macdonald of the former. There is a star fort within which the Rifles are encamped, and the Burghers are in tents outside; but their month of service has expired, and they are to return home to-morrow. This was a missionary station, but was burnt down last year. Between this post and Colonel Somerset's camp, about equidistant, another company of the Rifles, under the command of Captain Neald, and some more of the Albany Burghers are encamped, near Muller's flats.

"The force that was left at Wesleyville when we marched up has been removed to the Upper Chalumna Drift, and 100 men are posted at Line Drift on the Keiskamma, the former for the security of the Buffalo line of communication, and the latter for that of King William's Town.

"*April* 18*th*.—Arrived at King William's Town, and encamped in the garden of the mission-house. This was a flourishing village before the war, but is now a heap of ruins. There is a beautiful orchard at the mission-house, full of all kinds of fruit-trees, which has been spared by the Kafirs. The post is situated on the eastern bank of the Buffalo, and water has been brought down

by a canal from a higher level of the river two miles up, for the purpose of irrigation, and the post is one of great capabilities.

"The post is under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Buller of the Rifles, who has his camp clean and in beautiful order—a pleasing contrast to the one we have just left on the Goolah Heights, where filth is the order of the day amongst the levies.

"*April 21st.*—Visited Fort Beresford, which is situated near the source of the Buffalo. Country hilly, and covered with fine long grass at present.

"At 9 p.m. orders were issued for the headquarters to march at eight in the morning for Black Drift in consequence of news from the Governor brought by the post.

"*April 22nd.*—Left King William's Town at 9 a.m., and passed through a country covered with dwarf thorn until we came within three miles of the Debe Neck. Encamped at night beyond the Debe Flats near the place where Captain Sand's body (of the Cape Corps) was found last year. He had left Victoria in the morning with a small escort, and by some chance got separated from it, and is supposed to have been waylaid by the Kafirs at this place, and murdered. The Corporal and part of the escort reached Colonel Somerset's camp with difficulty.

"*April 23rd.*—Arrived at Fort Hare, and encamped near the ford in the Chumie. Visited the hospital of the Rifle Brigade. The barracks are of wattle-and-dab, and are not yet complete. They have clay floors, and are thatched with reeds.

"The hospital huts are 30 feet long, 15 wide, 7 feet wall, and 14 feet to the roof-tree. The floors are of clay, and the ventilation is free enough from the nature of the buildings. The men's barrack huts are 1 foot wider.

"Dr. Murray describes a bulbous plant of the genus *Monea* (called the wild blue tulip), which grows abundantly on the banks of the great Kei River, and is

poisonous to cattle. Some Hottentots were poisoned by eating the flesh of animals that had died from this cause.

"He speaks in the highest praise of olive oil in the treatment of dysentery—an ounce on an empty stomach in the morning in milk or peppermint water."

Dr. Hall found time at last to resume his private correspondence, which had been interrupted since the 21st of February. He had been moving about too rapidly, as the following letter to Mrs. Sutherland shows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP AT BLACK DRIFT,
"*April 25th*, 1847.

"I intended to answer your dear letters, and others that I had received by the same opportunity, but neither of the same interest nor importance as yours, on the 21st; but on that day I had to accompany the General to Fort Beaufort under the Buffalo Mountains, a distance of twelve miles from King William's Town, and when we returned the post brought news about nine at night that required the General to move his head-quarters to this place, and we started the next morning at eight, which prevented my good intentions, as I had to write letters on business until midnight after the post came in, to be ready for the return escort the next morning. For you must know, the post has to be escorted by a mounted party, and we only receive it twice a week. The Post-Office arrangements do not extend beyond Graham's Town, and unless some kind friend takes out one's letters and puts them into the military bag at the Brigade Major's Office, they would remain in the Post-Office until the end of time. Letters and papers are in consequence of this defective arrangement frequently lost or mislaid, but, from the regularity of the dates of your letters, I don't think I have been so unfortunate as to lose any of them. However, you will know if I have, as I think I have from time to time mentioned the date of all that have reached me. I should be sorry to

lose any of your letters, darling, and, if you knew the pleasure the receipt of them in this wilderness gives me, you would never have the cruelty to curtail either their length or frequency. For all that concerns you is of double interest to me now that we are so far apart, and I regret now that I did not delay a month or two and bring you with me. It would have been painful to your feelings, perhaps, to have taken such a step so soon, but not quite so repugnant as the idea of coming out alone evidently is, and, though I feel happy and flattered by the renewed offer of your attachment and affection, I cannot be quite so selfish, dearest, as to ask you to undertake so long a voyage without a companion or some known protection. If I ever have the happiness to be united to you, you will possess my unbounded confidence. Had I not the firmest reliance on you, I would never intrust my honour to your keeping. But knowing you as well as I think I do, I do so with perfect security. There is one thing, however, now that we are on confession of faith, that you must allow me to guide you in without feeling offended, should circumstances ever arise to require it. That is, to warn you of the society of such vain, vicious fribbles as —— ——a species of men nearly as dangerous to the reputation of women as real crime, for their vanity leads them to boast of favours never received, and in that way the fair fame of many a virtuous woman is injured without any fault of her own beyond having encouraged the society of such vermin. You will find on experience that the world always judges harshly, and the more you see of mankind, the worse you will think your fellow-creatures. This is a painful truth that all sooner or later learn in their intercourse with the world. You, dearest, have never mixed with any but the good and virtuous, and your own mind is too pure to imagine evil or wrong, and I verily believe you thought I was prejudiced against —— when I warned you against him. I have known many men vicious and depraved, but few who would have compromised the reputation of

one so near him in blood as you are. And it was that feeling of indignation that made me perhaps meddle with a matter which I dare say in your heart, darling, you thought did not concern me, and give you the warning I did. —— is too vain and shallow to hide his depravity from anyone who has mixed with his class in society, so we will say no more about him, since you have escaped his machinations, and are not likely to be exposed to them again if he go to the Havana, where he will either starve, die of yellow fever, or find his way to Dakyns and his brother in St. Vincent, which is the most likely of all.

"I have now been three months on the frontier and six weeks under canvas, and I cannot say from my own observation that this tiresome, unprofitable, and inglorious warfare—if warfare it can be called—has advanced one step towards its conclusion. The Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, issued a Proclamation on his arrival, calling on the Burghers to turn out against the Kafirs, and promising that under no circumstances should they be kept more than a month from their families. The gentlemen Burghers took eight or ten days to assemble, and, when we were on the Buffalo and the General projecting an advance to the Kei River to punish a Chief of the name of Pato, who has not submitted and has given great trouble, they decamped one moonlight night without beat of drum, assigning as a reason that it would take them a week to reach their homes, thus taking Sir Henry's Proclamation in its most literal sense, and leaving the General to do the best he could with his friend Pato. Of course, all movement in advance had to be suspended, and as the new levy is only dropping in by sixes and sevens, it will be long before it can be resumed. At this moment, too, as if to embarrass the General still more, an urgent demand for troops has just been received from the Civil Commissioner at Bloemfontein beyond the Orange River, 400 miles from this, to keep the Boers in check, who are becoming troublesome and threatening to plunder the peaceable and well-disposed people of

that district. It was this business that brought the General here in such a hurry. To-morrow we go to Fort Beaufort to see the garrison, and in a day or two I suppose we shall return to Fort Peddie, where the Governor is, or retrace our steps to King William's Town. I was in hopes that we should have gone to Graham's Town from Fort Beaufort, when I should have endeavoured to take a run to Cape Town, only 600 miles distant, and completed my returns and reports—at least those of the Department, which are two years in arrears. But that I must delay, as well as any positive information to you, darling, concerning your movements, until things are a little more settled and I know where I am to be. I am glad you have decided on remaining in Elm Tree Road for another twelve months. You could not have saved anything by a move, and as for the expense, that is a mere bagatelle. Am I not receiving pay and allowance ample enough to meet it, and why need you be so delicate about accepting assistance from me who have a better right to afford it? And surely, if you are to be my wife, I would rather that you did not lay yourself under an obligation to anyone else! Your own family and relations, I dare say, will be angry and surprised enough when you make known your strange selection, and I would not have it said that I could not maintain you. My pay and allowances are at present £2 17s. a day with rations, forage for five horses, and a waggon with twelve oxen which costs the Government £1 a day, so that you see Mr. John Hall, Dr., is a person of some expense, if of no other consequence, to Government; and he can, and will, afford, without much inconvenience to himself, to offer his darling little Zid any pecuniary assistance she may require, as his own expenses do not exceed 10s. a day, and he cannot spend more if he were ever so much inclined to do so. The Blanket Gentry, with all their finery of brass rings round ankles, wrists, arms, legs, and waists, with their beads, brass buttons, small steel chains, red clay, and grease, prefer a stick of tobacco

to anything else that can be offered to them. Money, therefore, is absolutely of no value in Kafirland. All the women smoke, and one never meets one arrived at womanhood that has not a young one tied to her back, so that they follow out the injunction of Scripture—to increase and multiply—to the very letter. Their dress is as primitive as anything else. Those that are near the Europeans dress in a blanket, which they fold round them very gracefully in the fashion of the ancient Roman toga, but those that have no blankets throw a sheepskin or cowhide round them. The young folks dress after Nature's fashion, and the old ones have a peculiar idea of nudity which I will explain to you some day, but which I cannot write.

" The only accidents that have happened since I wrote to you from the mouth of the Buffalo River are, I think, the fracture of one man's arm, and the loss of a little finger in another. The loss of the two Burghers and Major Smith's wound through the neck I believe I mentioned in my last. It is pleasant to know that a friend may be skulking behind any bush to take a pot-shot at you, and it is equally pleasant to find a full-grown puff-adder in possession of your bed at night, as was the case on one or two occasions near the Buffalo mouth, where these reptiles abounded when the camp was first formed there. The puff-adder is a handsomely marked reptile, but clumsy in shape and very venomous—they say deadly. A full-grown one was killed in Lieutenant Jervais' tent of the Engineers, with fangs three-quarters of an inch long. I should not certainly have liked to have a bite from it. About this part of the country the Kafirs are registered, many of them as British subjects, and are considered friendly. Perhaps they are so, but it is just as well not to trust one's self amongst them unarmed, though I must say I have not the fear of them that many have. Were I in as much fear as I see some people, nothing would induce me to remain here.

" Your letters are very welcome to me, for one is glad

in this wilderness of thorns to find that one is not entirely forgotten. I say ' wilderness of thorns ' literally and not figuratively, for the whole country is covered with scrubby mimosa thorn, the acacia thorn from which the gum arabic is gathered, which makes sad work with the nether garments when a person is riding amongst it ; and how the natives manage I cannot tell, but they certainly make their way barefooted and *very lightly clad* through bush that no European can venture through without a prospect of coming out of it much in the state that the native entered it. The Kafir ladies ornament themselves with brass rings on their fingers, wrists, arms, ankles, legs, and waists ; beads round their necks and in their hair ; brass buttons and small steel chains on their skin. They all use grease and red earth to smear the body with, so that, what between ornament and anointment they are most attractive people, as you may easily imagine. Amongst our visitors in the camp has been Queen Nonsha, who made her grand entrée, riding *en cavalier*, with her maid of honour, Conche, riding in the same fashion. Conche speaks English quite well, and can read and write, they say, as she was educated and brought up at a missionary station, and lived afterwards as a servant in Graham's Town. But when she grew up she joined her own people, got married to a Kafir, and had a young Kafir on her back when she was with us. I mention this, as it proves that there must be attractions in savage life that we know nothing of. Here was a girl with whom every care was taken, but no sooner does she arrive at womanhood, than away she goes to the bush, and prefers the blanket with a smear of grease and red clay to all the comforts of civilization, nor did she seem to regret the change, for she was as merry and light-hearted as one could wish to see. The Hottentots are a drunken, flat-nosed, hideous race, with a formation of person that does not require a crinoline to set it off. My goodness, could you but see some of them, they would amuse you !

"It's uncommonly hot in my tent at this moment. I should say 120°."

The diary was continued with little interruption from the 18th of April, as follows, including his trip to Cape Town and back from the 9th of June to the 17th of July for the purpose of submitting official reports which were overdue. He was then compelled to return to the frontier in consequence of the disturbances which had broken out amongst the Gaika Kafirs.

"*April 28th.*—Went from Black Drift to Fort Beaufort with the General. Met Sir Andrew Stockenstrom on the road with his Burgher Army Corps, consisting of 17 armed men, 8 servants, and unarmed men, and about 100 led horses, on his way back to Black Drift. Sir Andrew, it was supposed, would have been able to muster 2,000 or 3,000, and individuals had been pestering the Governor with memorials saying that if he were called out, they would be happy to serve under him. At last the Governor wrote to him on the subject, and the few that we met were all that he could induce to follow him to the field. When he got to Black Drift, he sent a message to the Governor at Peddie, requesting an interview, which His Excellency declined, and intimated to him that there was no use in keeping so small a body of men from their homes, telling him that he was much obliged to him for his own zeal, but thought he had better return home also for the present.

"Had the Governor not given him this trial, his friends and partisans would have clamoured and said: 'Why did not the Governor call on such men as Sir Andrew and others who were well known in the Colony, and who would have been followed by thousands, had not jealousy of his talents and popularity on the part of the authorities prevented him from being called on? Now they have nothing to say on that score they intimate that the Governor has disgusted Sir A. and his followers by treating them with discourtesy. There's no pleasing these people!

"*April 29th.*—Visited and inspected the hospital of the 7th Dragoon Guards, where the sick of the whole garrison are treated. The hospital has been constructed for defence, and the outer wall is perforated with loop-holes, which are closed by panes of glass that are made to open. This admits of improper things being passed into the hospital, and a piece of wire gauze ought to be fitted into each loophole.

"*May 1st.*—Revisited Fort Beaufort for the purpose of inquiring into the hospital's charges.

"Visited the Civil hospital under the charge of Mr. Macmaster, a civilian, who is paid 7s. a day for medicine and attendance, and saw Macomo, one of the Kafir Chiefs there, with his six wives. He was one of the shrewdest men in Kafirland, but is now a poor sot. His allowance of brandy from Government is 1 gallon a week, besides what he gets from private individuals and purchases at the canteens. There were four patients in the hospital besides Macomo. The whole place is filthy to a degree.

"*May 5th.*—Marched from Black Drift at 9.30 a.m. Outspanned at Port Victoria, ten miles distant, where there is a force of 100 men accommodated partly in huts and partly in tents. The post is surrounded by hills, except on the south-west. It is scantily supplied with indifferent water from two small streams, one on each side of it, which become dry in the hot season. Artificial dams have been made to retain water for the use of the troops and cattle, and at one place there is a small spring of rather better water. Colonel Somerset established a camp here, and made it the headquarters of the Cape Corps before the war broke out. Wattle-and-dab huts were built by the officers. A stone bastion was built at each end of the cantonment for the Artillery and stores, and the men were hutted.

"Soon after hostilities commenced the post was abandoned and burnt, and it has been reoccupied merely on account of the water, as an intermediate post between Peddie and Fort Hare is required for escort duty.

"Encamped at Founah's Kloof, five miles beyond Port Victoria, where there is a scanty supply of brackish water. Rode over with the General to see the ruins of Fort Willshire on the banks of the Keiskamma at the termination of Founah's Kloof, and commanding the old road into Kafirland. It cost £68,000, and was abandoned as soon as finished. It has been substantially built, but injudiciously placed as a military post, being commanded on all sides within musket range.

"*May 6th.*—Left the encampment at 8 a.m., and outspanned at Breakfast Vley, where there is a scanty supply of good water from a small spring. The Vleys were dry, and the camp had been removed to the Gogo Valley on that account. Encamped at Gogo where there is a small detachment of the 6th Regiment.

"*May 7th.*—Marched at 8.30 a.m. for Peddie, and arrived there at ten, passing near the Gwanga field of battle. Visited the hospital on my arrival, and found thirty-five men under treatment, and sixteen convalescents. Bowel-complaints and fevers the prevailing maladies.

"Remained at Peddie until the 15th, when I started for Graham's Town on my way to Cape Town, having obtained Sir George Berkeley's permission to go down and complete my medical returns and reports. I visited the posts on the Fish River, and Burnaby and Walpole accompanied me as far as Double Drift.

"Trompeter's Drift. This is a permanent station built of stone and covered with zinc, commanding the ford on the highroad from Graham's Town to Peddie. It is in the form of a square, with a tower at one corner which mounts a gun. The walls are loop-holed; the doors and windows open into the inner square. There is accommodation for one Officer, thirty-seven men, and sixteen horses. There is no hospital. The post is visited from Peddie, to which place the sick are sent. The barrack rooms are very dirty, and require whitewashing.

"Commithy's Dorf, about twelve miles higher up the

river, and commanding another ford of the river, is an establishment similar to Trompeter's, only smaller. No hospital.

"*May 16th.*—Double Drift is built in the same form as Trompeter's and Commithy's, only the buildings are covered with shingle. There is no hospital, and the post is visited by the Medical Officer at Fort Brown.

"Fort Brown, a post of the same construction as the other stations on this river, only larger and covered with shingle. It has accommodation for 3 Officers, 106 men, and 38 horses. It commands a bridge over the river. A Medical Officer is stationed here, and there is a small hospital for seven patients.

"*May 17th.*—Arrived at Graham's Town, and took up my residence at Style's Hotel, where I remained until the 26th, when I started for Port Elizabeth in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, and Dr. Atkinson, and arrived there on the afternoon of the 26th. Went to the *Phœnix*, where I was detained until the 9th of June, waiting for a passage to Cape Town.

"Embarked at midday on the 9th on board the schooner *Swiftsure*, and reached Table Bay on the morning of the 15th. On Saturday the 12th we encountered a gale of wind from the north-west off Cape Lazulia's, and were compelled to heave to all day. On Sunday the wind fell nearly calm, and the heavy swell drove us back several miles against the current. In the afternoon the *Phœnix* steamer we had waited so long for at Port Elizabeth passed us, and the Government steamer, *Fair Rosamund*, came out of Struys' Bay, where she had been sent with some apparatus for the new lighthouse they are making there.

"Towards evening the wind freshened from the south-east, and we had a fine run as far as Hoot's Bay, where we were becalmed until the following morning.

"Landed and went up to Mrs. Wilmot's, my old lodging in Roeland Street, where I was fortunate enough to obtain rooms. Dr. Atkinson, who sailed in the schooner

Conch a week before us, only arrived two days ago. The *Conch* encountered very boisterous weather, and was compelled to put into Mossel Bay.

"Employed at the office daily in completing and sending off the various returns and reports due from this command until the 17th of July, when I embarked again for the frontier in the *Phœnix* steamer. Completed and sent off the Annual Return and report of sick to March, 1846. Sanitary report to same date to War Office, etc."

During his visit to Cape Town, he was able to find time to write some long letters to Mrs. Sutherland.

"CAPE TOWN,
"*June 16th*, 1847.

"On my arrival here yesterday from the frontier, I found your letter, darling, of the 14th of February waiting for me at the office. I had given instructions to have no more letters forwarded to the frontier when I found that my official business would require my presence in Cape Town for a season, and from the date and tenor I hope and think I have not been so unfortunate as to lose any of your letters. At the beginning of May, the brave Burgher levies having deserted us, and the regiments of the line having been for so many months in the bush that all the patching the men could resort to would barely keep them above the condition of Adam, the General was compelled, when we returned to Fort Peddie, to concentrate the different Corps, to allow of supplies and clothing being brought up from this place, where all the heavy baggage of the Army had been stored, and, when I left Graham's Town, I started in company with three Quartermasters of Regiments, one Lieutenant-Colonel (Montresor) ordered home, Dr. Atkinson, returning to Cape Town to see his wife and children; and one Captain and a Lieutenant of the 45th Regiment, on their way to Natal. When we got down to Port Elizabeth, which we did in three days—for you must know travelling

is not done at railroad speed in this country—we found no vessel bound to Cape Town, and we were compelled to wait ten days for an opportunity. The first vessel that sailed—a wretched schooner of 100 tons burden—we allowed Atkinson and the Quartermasters to go in, being most pressed for time, and, after waiting a week, Montresor and myself were compelled to embark in another schooner of only 120 tons, being uncertain of the arrival of a steamer, the *Phœnix*, daily expected from England. The two first days of our voyage were fair and prosperous, and we were congratulating ourselves on our good-fortune, when, on Saturday the 12th instant, a violent gale of wind from the north-west set in when we were off Lazulia's Point, a most dangerous part of the coast, where vessels are frequently wrecked, and we were obliged to heave to and remain there all day. On Sunday the wind failed entirely, and we were left rolling about in a heavy sea without as much wind as would give the vessel through-way, and while in this agreeable dilemma we had the gratification of seeing the steamer we had been expecting for so many days pass us on her way to Port Elizabeth. Towards night the breeze freshened, and we had a fine run down as far as Cape Point, but, when we had got a few miles beyond it, the high land took the wind out of our sails, and we were again becalmed, and did not get into Table Bay before Tuesday morning. But, after all, our voyage was prosperous in comparison with that of the *Conch*, which took Atkinson and the Quartermasters, which only arrived on Saturday, although she sailed a week before our vessel, the *Swiftsure*.

"I find the *Lady Flora* is daily expected here from Madras, and I wish I could take passage in her, and come and join you in Elm Tree Road. How different things are! You complain of frost and snow at a period when I would have given any money for cold weather; and now that winter and cool weather are coming on here, I suppose you in London will be complaining of suffocating heat. Before I left the frontier the Snow Berg Mountains were

covered with snow, and I can assure you it was cold enough under canvas. I found it so cold that I was glad to get between the blankets ; but, as a camp stretcher is not a very large affair, I found the clothes constantly off either my back or knees, so I made my servant double a blanket, and sew it up at the bottom and two-thirds of the way up at the side, and into this bag I used to slide at night, with a blanket and quilt over me, and you cannot tell how famously it answered. I can recommend the dodge to anyone in cold weather who is compelled to sleep alone. It answers equally well in damp weather under canvas, for then everything feels wet in the morning, and particularly uncomfortable.

" The report is that Pato, the only Kafir Chief at present in arms against the Colony, has sent in to the Commissioner of the T'Stambic tribes to say that he is anxious and ready to surrender, and throw himself on the clemency of the Governor. If this report be true, which I devoutly hope is the case, there will be an end to this wretched contest, which is dignified with the name of war, and if false, I shall have to return to the frontier and join the General at the end of next month, who will make a forward movement across the Great Kei River to punish this said Pato and his patron Kreli, who has been harbouring and covertly supporting him for many months past. The Kafirs, I believe, are much harassed just now, and heartily sick and tired of the war, and will be glad to make peace ; but that will not prevent cattle-stealing, for you must know Kafirs value their wives with cows and oxen, and the temptation to steal under such circumstances, you will admit, is too great for human nature to resist. Fancy a handsome young lady varying in value from two to ten cows ! Can anything be more bestial ? But the fact is, the Kafirs, whatever lies the missionaries may tell to the contrary, are complete savages in every sense of the word, and all their preaching has not had one single humanizing effect on them.

"During my trip on the frontier I have enjoyed most excellent health, and I cannot say that I dislike the roving life of a campaigner.

"Dr. Atkinson got sciatica, either real or intended, and I dare say he will make a desperate effort to remain here. It was with great difficulty I got him to the front, and now that he has got back to his wife I suppose she will not part with him, particularly as she considers him so much improved in appearance since he let his moustache grow. All people in the field are compelled to do so to preserve their lips from blistering and cracking with the dry heat, but most shave them off when they return to civilized society. Madame, however, appears so proud of his that he will be compelled to wear his hairy honours. The Governor was very civil to me the week I spent at Peddie. I think I dined four times with him, and he was very chatty and full of anecdote.

"He has commenced to build a house at Fort Peddie, which does not look as if he had any immediate idea of returning to Cape Town. However, his movements will greatly depend on the march of affairs in Kafirland. If peace be made with the Zulus, there will be nothing to keep him on the frontier, and I suppose he will then return to the seat of Government. The gay season is commencing here. To-day the 90th Regiment was reviewed by the Commandant of the garrison, and on the 24th there is to be a grand Masonic Ball, where all the beauty and fashion of Cape Town will be assembled."

"CAPE TOWN,
"*July 16th*, 1847.

"Some disturbances have broken out among the Gaika Kafirs, arising from an attempt to seize on Sandilli, the paramount Chief of those tribes, for not restoring some stolen cattle and punishing the thieves as he was bound to do by the treaty he had entered into with the Colonial Government. The party which was sent out from Fort Hare to recover the cattle from Sandilli's

kraal had made good their seizure, and were driving them back through the Keiskamma bush near Burn's Hill when they were waylaid and fired on by a numerous body of Kafirs, and one man of the 45th Regiment was shot dead on the spot, and one of the 7th Dragoon Guards and three of the 45th were wounded. A Lieutenant Russell of the Kafir Police was shot through the lungs, and died the second day after, and two of his police were wounded. This piece of treachery on the part of the Kafirs, who were supposed to have been disarmed, and who were proclaimed by Sir P. Maitland, the former Governor, to be in amity with the Colony, has excited the ire of the Governor and General, and a forward movement of the troops has been ordered to punish these lawless savages, and teach them better manners.

"I am compelled to return to my post much sooner than I expected, and I embark in the *Phœnix* steamer for Algoa Bay to-morrow at one o'clock. The vessel sails at two, so that if we have any luck, we shall reach our destination on Tuesday the 20th. This confounded affair of the 16th of June is very provoking, and now that the novelty of the frontier is gone, I go back very unwillingly. But it is in the bond, and must be fulfilled. I hope to God it will be finished soon, for you must know this is the winter season here, and in the Amatola Mountains it will be excessively cold. Even in May, before I left the frontier, the Winterberg range of mountains was capped with snow. Cold one may stand, but rain is the mischief in camp. It makes everything and everybody wretched. To come to your encamping-ground on a wet day with everything dripping, and neither tent to shelter nor fire to dry you or cook your rations is a state of things the inhabitants of No. 12, Elm Tree Road, thank God! are not subject to. They may go out now and then, being wilful bairns, and paddle about in wet weather, and get set down from a bus a mile or two from home, and have to get home in the rain the best way they can, but when they do reach that home it is warm, dry, and snug

and they have nothing to do but make themselves comfortable, and then go to bed. A drop of wine hot with a nob of sugar and some nutmeg is not to be despised after a wetting by the wisest philosopher!

"Last night I was at a very pleasant dinner-party at the Commissary-General's, where I met the Chief Justice, Sir John Wilde. To-day I have got my first fee—£2 2s.—from another of the Bench, Mr. Justice Menzies, so that this—never mind the term—Kafir war cuts me in every tender point. It robs me of the chance of seeing you, dearest, for in this state of things I can decide on nothing, and it prevents me from improving my chances of making money by private practice, which I think I should have done had I been able to remain in Cape Town on my arrival, as a Dr. Forrest went home at that time who attended all the principal people of the place, and I was asked by several if I wished to take private practice. I suppose, *à la Giovanni*, I ought to calculate my practice at the rate of £730 per annum, as I have made two guineas to-day. By the way, what has become of that hero? I have not been able to discover your cousin's friend, Mr. Norman Firth, though I have made numerous inquiries.

"I went to the ball I mentioned to you in one of my letters, and a very gay affair it was, I can assure you. There were about 300 well-dressed people there, and some of the young ladies I can vouch would have passed muster anywhere.

"There are some very nice people here, and I think I shall like the place when I get settled down. Of course, I should like it much more if I had you near me to comfort me, and partake of any pleasures that are going on. I cannot, however, hope to see you, as I feel it would be too much to ask you to come out alone to gain me. I am now very unhappy in not being able to get your letters by the *Dwarka* steamer before I start for the frontier. Confound the tub, she must have been out at sea more than a hundred days!

"The *City of Poona*, by which I received a letter from you dated the 11th of April, has been gone three weeks. People, I suspect, were deceived about the *Dwarka*. She is a miserable steam-tug, going out to India to be employed in one of the rivers, and I have no doubt every-one that wrote by her thought she was one of the large first-class steamers. By the way, have you seen the fate of the *Tweed* West India steamer that we came home from St. Thomas's in? How very shocking! And from the rapidity with which she broke up, it is evident the dry-rot in her timbers had never been eradicated. How different from the stout *Thunderbolt* that was wrecked off Algoa Bay in February! Had her timbers or planking been rotten, we should have gone to the bottom instantly, as she had planking ripped off under her coal-bunker to the extent of 17 feet. I must now go and pack up for the march to-morrow, as it is getting late. So I will say good-night and God bless you, dearest."

CHAPTER VIII

KAFIR WAR

1847

AFTER this short change to Cape Town for a special purpose, Dr. Hall had to return to Army Headquarters at the seat of war, where his presence was required as head of his Department. He at once resumed keeping his diary, which he began to call " Private Memoranda."

" *July 17th*, 1847, 3 *p.m.*—Embarked at Table Bay on board the *Phœnix* steamer for Algoa Bay. Touched at Mossel Bay on the morning of the 19th, and arrived at Port Elizabeth at 2.30 on the 20th. Passengers on board the steamer: Dr. Atkinson; Lieutenant Cramer, 7th Dragoon Guards; Mr. Connell; and one lady for Mossel Bay; Mr. Bailey and his wife, going up to Graham's Town to establish himself as a merchant there; Mr. Watkins, sent up by the Central Road Board in Cape Town to repair the road about the Addo Heights; and a Mr. Harvey and his wife, one of the Orange River traders who had been down to Cape Town to buy goods. The *Phœnix* is a comfortable vessel.

" Found the two horses that I had left at Algoa Bay, one with a sore back and wretchedly thin, and the other in tolerable condition.

" Started on the morning of the 22nd for Graham's Town in company with Dr. Atkinson and Lieutenant Cramer, having procured a waggon for our baggage, which was to leave about midday.

" Arrived at Mr. Iremonger's Inn at the Sunday River

about six, much fatigued, and dined and slept there. My pony knocked up about half-way, and Cramer kindly allowed me to ride one of his led horses, or I should have been benighted. As it was, it was quite dark before we reached the inn. Iremonger's is a new inn that has been built close to the ferry in opposition to Mrs. Taylor. The landlord is a poor, drunken body, but very civil, and his house is clean, and the stabling excellent. He was in great distress about his little girl, who had just returned from school with symptoms of consumption, the disease of which her mother died, and he begged me to prescribe for her, which I did.

"*23rd.*—Started at nine, and after a hot ride reached Sidbury at half-past five. Was compelled to trespass on Cramer for the loan of his horse. Mr. Paleard, the landlord at Sidbury, has increased his charges about 20 per cent. since I was there last.

"*24th.*—Started at eight and reached Graham's Town at three. Met the General, who asked me to dinner; but I requested to be excused, having no change of clothes. Put up at Style's Hotel.

"*25th.*—Invitation to dinner from the Governor for the 26th, which I was compelled to decline on account of the non-arrival of my waggon.

"*26th.*—Bought a chestnut horse for £23—a strong hardy brute. (Was stolen by Kafirs near the Kei on the 1st of November.)

"*27th.*—Visited the hospital of the 27th in the Drostdy. Clean and regular. Waggon arrived this morning, and I got a room at the hospital to put my things in.

"*Sunday, August 1st,* 1847.—Had much difficulty in finding my way to Fort England last night on account of the darkness and rain; and ran some risk from the slippery nature of the roads.

"Major Stocks and Captain Burnaby of the Royal Artillery went in a cart, but coming back they were compelled to walk on account of the dangerous state of the road. Met Captain and Mrs. Ward of the 21st at

Colonel Lindsay's. She is the authoress of some twelve papers on the Kafir War, which have appeared in the *Frontier Times*. She is a chatty, pleasant woman, but rather romantic in her ideas. Her brother, Captain Tidy, of the 14th Foot, who was on General Maister's staff when I was in the West Indies, I know very well, and that was an agreeable introduction to her.

"*August 5th.*—Dined with Colonel Somerset and the officers of the Cape Mounted Rifles, where I met the General and his staff.

"*7th.*—Dined at Sir Henry Young's, the Lieutenant-Governor's. Good dinner and pleasant evening.

"*8th.*—Cotton and Irwin of the 27th dined with me at the hotel. A party of fourteen. Noisy. Considerable quantity of hock and champagne drunk at dinner, and a good deal of tobacco smoked afterwards. Heavy storm of wind and rain all night.

"*9th.*—Weather continues wet and boisterous. Did not leave the house all day. Finished my inspection report."

From Graham's Town he continued his correspondence with his future wife, before starting again for the front:

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"*August 28th*, 1847.

"Just as I was closing my letter to you last post, I received your two letters 13 and 14. The letters by the *Susan*, which came last post, had been to the Mauritius—as if the voyage to the Cape was not long and tedious enough! I am sorry, darling, that you should have been occasioned so much anxiety about the loss of the *Thunderbolt*. I was in hopes my letter would reach you in time to save that, but I suppose the express that was sent off to the Admiral the night she was wrecked must have been transmitted home by an earlier opportunity. I am glad, however, that you were not kept long in suspense, and I would have written earlier had I had the means and known that a vessel was going to

Europe; but the post takes between five and six days in coming up from Cape Town, and, of course, as many are consumed in returning, so that, if letters are not in the Post-Office, one has no chance of transmitting them by any of the many chances that present themselves to people residing in Cape Town; and I am sure, dearest, grumbler as you are, you must own that I did not forget you when I was there, either before I came up to the frontier in February, or after I went down in June. When I go into the field I have not the means or opportunity of writing to you so frequently as I could wish, so you must neither be alarmed nor very impatient if you do not receive so many letters for a time after the 14th prox., as you have been doing lately.

"The troops begin to move next week, and the General told me a few minutes ago that he thought he should set out on the 14th for King William's Town, where three Divisions of the attacking force are to be assembled in the first instance. He intended to start on the 13th, he said, but some of the staff think the 13th an unlucky day. The fact is, some of them want to remain another day in Graham's Town, and, as it is of little consequence, the General has good-naturedly indulged them.

"The weather, which was so wet and boisterous when I wrote to you the other day, has become clear and fine, though the nights are still cold, and the peach and almond-trees are all coming out in blossom, thick as your trees were in the spring. Many here might vie with the beauties of No. 12. I like the spring months in all countries. There is a joyousness in nature that one sees at no other season of the year, and one cannot help feeling exhilarated, and joining in the general acclamation of praise to the great Ruler of all things.

"I have just been to witness a melancholy sight—the death-bed, I fear, of a poor lady who has given premature birth to twins. Mrs. Eddie, the wife of the Surgeon of the Cape Mounted Rifles, consulted a medical man here in her husband's absence, who ordered her some

medicine which was either injudiciously chosen or carelessly compounded, but the result was that it made her mouth very sore, and produced profuse salivation, which reduced her very much. Her husband was sent for at the beginning of the illness, and fortunately arrived in town in time to be with her at the moment when she most required his care and sympathy. On Saturday last, as I mentioned before, she was prematurely delivered of twins. Yesterday He that sent them thought fit to remove them, and, poor lady, that seems in her enfeebled state to have been the drop that made her cup of misery overflow. This morning she is to all appearances fast hastening to that bourne from whence no traveller returns. Eddie asked me to see her in consultation this morning, but I fear we can do little for her—though God is great, and while there is life there is hope. I saw her kiss and take leave of her children, and witnessed her feeble signature to a testamentary document that it was necessary for her to execute for the benefit of her children. All these things are painful, and though doctors are generally accused of being insensible to such scenes, I must confess I have never been able to surmount the unpleasant feeling they create in my mind. I suppose nature never intended me for the profession I have, by some accident, selected. Thank God the period is fast approaching when I shall be able to abandon it and escape from such *triste* sights. I think many of those who pretend to be religious are void of this weakness of nature. They generally pretend that grief or sorrow would be repining at the designs of the Almighty, whereas I verily believe their conduct arises from insensibility to the fate of those who have been removed.

" Respecting the £4,000 to which you allude in your letter of the 3rd of May, I think what you propose very right and reasonable. I shall have no temptation, dearest, to squander your money, as my own retirement will be sufficient to prevent that, and I am no speculator in railways or farms, though a certain acquaintance of mine

was anxious to be both. Do you recollect my dissuading you from taking John Daniel's advice about railroads? You see, I was not very far wrong. Had you speculated in the way that he recommended you to do, you would now, in all probability, be minus some £1,700. The farming affair I thought bad enough, but the railroad schéme was sheer madness. I suppose if you find the money your own, you will have it transferred to your own name, which it is proper that you should do."

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"*September 5th*, 1847.

"On Saturday the 11th we start for King William's Town on our way to Fort White on the Debe Flats, from which place the troops proceeding from King William's Town advance into the Amatola Mountains, a Division advancing from Fort Beaufort will enter by Fort Hare, and a horde of Boers, Burghers, and others are expected to lie in wait for the cattle on the other side of the mountain-range, as the Governor has given them licence to plunder the Kafirs, and keep for their own benefit what they can take.

"This is the most powerful temptation that could be held out to them, but I fear their dread of the Kafirs will outweigh their cupidity. As yet it is not known that they are mustering in any numbers, and, as the period of attack on Sandilli is fast approaching, I suppose they will await the result of the onset, and, if the troops give the Kafirs a drubbing in their fastnesses, they will then pour in in thousands to seize the plunder. The troops are ordered to destroy all the cattle that fall into their hands, so it is just as well that the Colonists should benefit by the chance. If the troops are repulsed, there will be a very pretty rush of Kafir gentry into the Colony to help themselves pretty much in the way that we intend to serve them. In that case the safest place will be with the troops in the field, so pray don't make yourself uneasy on my account.

"I mentioned to you in my last letter that I had been

called in in consultation to see a Mrs. Eddie. Poor lady, she died the day following, and was buried with her two little babies in the same grave. When I saw her first, I thought there was not the slightest chance of her recovery, but while there is life there is always hope, for there is nothing impossible to God.

"I wish this tiresome Kafir war was at an end, for I am sick of the frontier, and of the Cape altogether; but like the cry of the starling in Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey,' I may repeat, 'I can't get out! I can't get out!'

"Spring is just opening on us, and the beauty and variety of flowers that are springing up in all directions are quite charming. The iris and lily tribes abound in this country, and some of them are of great beauty, and would be much prized in England. If I had time I should like to make a collection of some of those that appear to me to be most rare and beautiful. The Proteus, Strelitzers, and others are common, and there are I don't know what number of aloes and Euphorbias growing in every direction in this country. In Cape Town there is a Botanic Garden kept by a Baron Ludwig, who has collected nearly all the plants that are rare at the Cape, and I am sorry I am not there at this season to see them. Do you remember our botanizing excursions to Kew, when you used to steal flowers contrary to regulation, and place them in your herbarium? Do you remember a plant called the *Coccinus Africana*, or arum lily? It grows large in all the water-courses round here, and is considered so common that little is thought of it, though it is much prized in England.

"What has become of No. 12 letter? It has not made its appearance yet, but I hope it may do so soon. Who knows but it may arrive by the post to-morrow! On Saturday we start at daybreak, as we shall have to go to Trompeter's Drift on the Great Fish River, a distance of thirty-two miles, which is as much as the waggons will be able to accomplish, so that we shall not

be able to wait for the post, which is not regular in its arrival. The letters, however, will be sent on after us; but, still, that occasions additional delay, and when one is anxious about letters the delay of even an hour is felt as a long space of time.

" The little gaiety there was here has passed over, and things are dull and stupid. Everything but scandal is at a standstill, and that is as vigorous as ever. It flourishes in all small communities where the concerns of each are common property, and Graham's Town is not behind the rest of the world in this respect.

" Sir Henry Young has been removed from this to the Government of South Australia. I have not seen him since the news arrived, nor do I know if your friend Mrs. Peake goes with him. He talks of returning to England before he proceeds to his new Government. This is a young country, but Australia is still younger, as I think Adelaide has not been established more than ten or a dozen years. I hear, however, that he is glad of the change. He took a very decided part in local politics on his arrival, and in some points came into collision with the Governor and Cape Town authorities, so that perhaps he is not sorry to have an opportunity of escaping with credit. He advocates a separation of the eastern provinces from the western or longer established ones, not taking into consideration their inability to support themselves. The people here are radical in the broadest acceptation of the term, and to court popularity, I suppose, he joined them in their outcry about separation and other matters that he does not seem at that time to have well understood. He commenced first with one of the Judges, and got snubbed by the Governor. He then attacked the Central Road Board in Cape Town, in which he was not much happier, as, in place of neglect or abuse of their trust, the Board has made it clear to everyone, by their statement which has been published, that, in place of spending the money that was raised in the eastern provinces for road purposes, they have

actually spent more every year than was actually raised there.

"The fact is, the gentleman who drew up the petition which he gave publicity to, forgot, or omitted to state, some very heavy items of expense that had been incurred in making a new road about four miles from this through a pass in the hills on one of the highroads from this to Port Elizabeth, the very place at which the memorial was concocted. All this, by the way, is very uninteresting to you, as you neither know, nor, I suppose, care, where the place is; but I can tell you, if you ever have the fate to travel through it, you will be able to appreciate the advantages of a good road.

"The Style family—that's the name of the landlord of the inn where I am stopping—was augmented by a little pledge this morning. A little after daybreak I was knocked up, but, by the time I had got downstairs, the regular medical attendant had arrived, so I was deprived of the important office of ushering the young scion of the Style tree into this world of war. Both mother and babe, I am happy to learn, are as well as can be expected.

"How time slips on! It is nearly twelve months since I first heard of my appointment to the Cape. Two years more will soon pass, and then I shall be at liberty to retire, or will be eligible for another step which I must serve five years at home before I should be entitled to. To be sure, five years at home is infinitely better than three out here, but there is no use in complaining. If this confounded Kafir war were once over, I should manage very well.

"The rumour—town talk, I mean—this morning, is that Sandilli has sent in a message to say he is all ready, and wants to know why we do not go out to attack him! If this be true, there will be a chance of ending the Kafirs, for, if they once make a stand in any numbers, they will get a lesson they will not readily forget.

"I may not have an opportunity of writing to you

again before I leave town, but I will do so as soon after as I can."

While he was on active service, Dr. Hall managed to keep up his "Private Memoranda" for three or four weeks:

"*September 11th*, 1847.—Started from Graham's Town with the General *en route* to King William's Town, to join the troops assembled there prior to their advance into the Amatolas to punish Sandilli, the paramount Chief of the Gaika tribes, for his want of faith.

"The General's party consisted of Sir George Berkeley; Lieutenant-Colonel Mackinnon; Major Stocks; Captain Walpole, R.E.; Captain Burnaby, R.A.; Captain Seymour, A.D.C., who left us at Governor's Kop and returned to Graham's Town; Captain Somerset, A.D.C., who joined the party when Seymour left; Major Rumley, of the 6th Regiment, proceeding to King William's Town to command there; and myself. Captain Berkeley, the Military Secretary, and Mrs. Rumley, his sister, Major Armstrong of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and second-class Staff-Surgeon Hadaway rode a few miles out of town with us, and then returned. Arrived at Trompeter's Drift at 5 p.m., and got a bed at the inn there.

"The mule waggons did not arrive till after dark. One containing the office records of the —— and the Military Secretary, broke down at a place called Fraser's Camp, about seven miles distant from Trompeter's, and was left there. The General's waggon, after being upset twice, was damaged and left at the top of Trompeter's Hill.

"The 13th was the day originally fixed on by the General for his departure from Graham's Town, but Major Stocks, who is married to an Italian, and has apparently imbibed all the superstitious prejudices of that country, prevailed on him to alter it, because number thirteen is considered in Italy an unlucky day, on account of Leonardo da Vinci having painted thirteen figures in

his picture of the Last Supper! Had the General started on the 13th, the accident to his waggon would have been ascribed to the mysterious influence of the 13th; and, even as it was, the Major wanted to persuade us that all odd numbers over ten were unlucky.

"What the fate of our expedition will be, undertaken under such auspices, God only knows, but where the principal managers are imbued with such silly prejudices much cannot be expected; and should any reverse be experienced by the troops, a thing not very probable to be sure—it might be very serious indeed, unless the Virgin vouchsafed to reassure the desponders.

"12*th*.—The General had to send to Fort Peddie for a couple of waggons to replace those that had been rendered useless by the upsets, and, as he intended to wait at Trompeter's until the waggons came down the hill, Captain Walpole and I rode over to Peddie, as I wanted to see the hospital of the 8th Regiment at that post. Arrived at Peddie at 2 p.m., and went to the hospital, which was clean and in good order. Pneumonia has been prevalent here for some time past, and some casualties have occurred from it. At present the cases under treatment are chiefly chest affections and bowel-complaints. Went to Mr. Bartholomew's inn, where I was tolerably well put up.

"13*th*.—Started from Peddie in a drizzling rain for Line Drift, but did not get much wet. Encamped at Line Drift. The post at Line Drift is prettily situated on an eminence in a valley through which the Keiskamma River flows, but, as the hills on each side are of considerable elevation, it is reported to be very hot in the summer. The men are accommodated in temporary hut-barracks, which have been built by themselves, and are far more comfortable than tents.

"14*th*.—Started at half-past eight for King William's Town, where we arrived at two.

"15*th*.—Dined with Lieutenant-Colonel Buller. Dr. Atkinson reported himself unable to accompany his

division into the field, and was allowed to remain in King William's Town, and Mr. Mandeville was ordered to accompany the Division, and take charge of the native levies attached to it.

"A patrol was sent out last night to see if there were any Kafirs in the neighbourhood, and, Cape Corps fashion, returned to camp having seized thirty head of cattle belonging to some friendly Kafirs, which had to be sent back. This war has been a series of cattle-liftings, and, if the same plan is to be followed on the present occasion, the contest will be prolonged for many months.

"16*th*.—The General saw the Brigade to-day, 2,000 strong, which is in fine order, and one cannot help feeling regret that it is not to be engaged with a more worthy foe than the naked Kafir savage.

"17*th*.—The first Division marched this morning for Fort White, with a train of 131 waggons laden with baggage and stores. Headquarters follow to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, and Colonel Somerset with his Division starts on a patrol to Fort Beresford at two the same day. Last night the Kafirs drove off two span of oxen from the opposite side of the river belonging to the Commissariat, and a cow belonging to Lieutenant-Colonel Buller of the Rifles. The oxen had been left to graze on a spot prohibited; and the Colonel's cow I suspect was stolen by friend John Tatzoe's people, as the Colonel's servant had promised him the use of her during his master's absence; and the Colonel had lent her to Major Rumley, his successor in command at King William's Town.

"18*th*.—Headquarters marched at 8.30 from King William's Town, and arrived at the camp on the Debe Flats at 2.30. Day very hot. Off-saddled at the Umzine, where a Kafir driving a fine fat cow, a woman and two children were observed. A party of the Cape Corps was sent after the Kafir, and soon brought him and his cow in. He stated that he belonged to Tolo's tribe, a friendly Chief, and had been sent to fetch the cow which had

strayed into Sandilli's country, which, I dare say, was a fabrication, as the Kafirs are ready-witted, and the greatest liars in the universe. A line of demarcation has been drawn round Sandilli's country, and all the Chiefs who are friendly have been warned by the Civil Commissioners to withdraw their cattle from it, to prevent mistakes when active operations commence. On the Umzine hills, which are covered with huts, the women were seen moving off with large bundles on their heads, some of which were examined, and found to contain bullets, moulds, and other munitions of war, which is significant of what the troops have to expect when they enter the hills. Mounted men hovered about the camp all day, and scouts were seen on the tops of all the hills both yesterday and to-day, watching the movements of the troops.

"When we reached the encampment, which had been judiciously laid out by the Engineers, Captain Walpole and Lieutenant Owen, Major Stocks found fault, very unnecessarily, I think, both with the plan and the portion of ground that had been allotted for headquarters; and Captain Burnaby, a kind of half A.D.C. and purveyor to the General, who would be better and more profitably with his own guns, took upon himself to alter the position of the waggons. Burnaby is one of that species of tuft-hunters who endeavour to make themselves useful to men in power by acts of service that independent-minded men despise; and, though it answers their purpose for the time, I don't know that the trifling advantages they obtain are not dearly purchased at the price of the contempt of their compeers. Major Stocks is arrogant, and, as Sir George is yielding and easy-tempered, he has more power than he ought to have, and does not always use it with discretion. Indeed, he often steps out of his line of duty to be smart. Walpole, whom Stocks insulted about the encampment in presence of the General, and whom the General should have checked, as the plan had been submitted to him and approved

of, is an honest, straightforward man, and has none of the time-serving propensities of his friends Stocks and Burnaby.

"19*th*.—Heavy rain this morning. The march, which was to have taken place at nine, has been delayed till one, and from the appearance of the weather I question whether it will take place then. This is a wretched prospect for the men, who have neither waggons nor tents with them on the patrol.

"1 p.m.: Rain has commenced again, and the troops are ordered to march at three. The tobacco sent for the use of the troops is half rotten, and a Board of Survey has been ordered on it.

"3 p.m.: The column marched in the rain, soon after Gibson's arrival from Fort Hare with forty men of the 7th Dragoon Guards.

"Black's horse, which was vicious and led by a foal, kicked his panniers off, and exposed the domestic menage, as the one that was broken was found filled with provisions for himself instead of medicines. Dr. Lock furnished one of his saddle-bags to carry the articles contained in the broken pannier, and after a delay of a quarter of an hour, the man set out again on his march.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's column, which is to co-operate with Lieutenant-Colonel Buller's in the Amatola basin, left Fort Hare at nine this morning. The Kafirs, it is reported, are collecting in great numbers in the fastnesses of the mountains, and are determined to make a resolute stand, and, if they do, some lives will be sacrificed in this ignoble warfare, which was commenced on account of a stolen hatchet, and is to be renewed for thirteen half-starved goats that were stolen by one of Sandilli's people, and which he refused to give up or surrender the culprit to be tried for the offence, as he was bound to do by treaty. He ate him up himself—that is, he deprived the thief of all his property, stolen goats and all. From these insignificant causes has arisen a war that will cost the British nation three or four millions of money, and

which has been attended with reverses that are disgraceful to the British Army.

"What the result of the present campaign will be, time alone can tell. I hope for the best.

"*20th.*—A drizzling rain fell all the early part of the morning, but about nine o'clock it cleared up, when the General and his staff went out reconnoitring on the top of the adjoining hills. A party of the 7th Dragoon Guards had been sent out at an earlier hour to destroy all the huts on the Debe Flats, and when we got on the top of the hills, which commanded a view of Fort White and the Debe Flats on one side and Fort Cox and the Amatola basin on the other, we saw the Flats surrounded with a belt of smoke, and could trace Lieutenant-Colonel Buller's and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's advance along the mountain valleys by the smoke which arose from them. Not to be behind our neighbours, the General's escort set fire to two kraals which we found on the hills. As we advanced, some Kafirs took shelter in the bush, and we observed small parties squatting on the adjoining hills. The bush in the neighbourhood of the kraals doubtless contained numbers of the enemy, as I dare say any unfortunate person would have found to his cost had he ventured in alone. As it was, no opposition was made, and the officer employed on the Flats burned about 180 huts, and I should say the General's escort twenty more, making 200. How many the Divisions in the mountains destroyed we shall hear in a day or two, but from the vast volume of smoke which arose, the number must have been considerable. In the evening a party of armed Kafirs was seen driving some cattle, and an armed party of waggon-drivers sallied forth and shot one of them. From the hilltops we could see no traces of cattle in any direction, and from the luxuriance of the pasturage, where the grass had room to seed, it is evident they must have been driven out of this part of the country for some time. In some of the huts articles of the Burn's Hill plunder of last year were found and destroyed. What

the ulterior policy of Sandilli may be no one knows, but from their offering no resistance in this neighbourhood it is conjectured some plan has been organized among his people which will be manifested by-and-by. Macomo and about 100 of his followers have gone down to the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth, where they are to be located for the present.

"*21st.*—No accounts from the Divisions in the hills. A party of Cavalry and Infantry was sent out to destroy huts on the hills near the Debe Neck. Another of Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Gore of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and accompanied by Captains Berkeley and Seymour and the Master-Gunner Burnaby, went in the direction of Fort Cox for the same purpose. In the afternoon the General rode round the hills on the south side of the Flats, and when we came to the Debe Neck, the Assistant A. General discovered an unfortunate cow under a bush, which he captured with part of the Cape Corps escort, and drove into camp in triumph.

"Evening chilly, which portends rain in this country, and one cannot help feeling compassion for the Kafir women and children who have been rendered homeless by the laying waste of the country. Our own poor fellows who are in the mountains without shelter of any kind are no less deserving of pity. Two hundred huts destroyed to-day.

"*22nd.*—Rain in the night, followed by a chilly wet morning. Everything in camp looks dreary, and the bivouac of the troops in the mountains, from whom no report has as yet been received, must be wretched indeed.

"1 p.m.: Despatches were brought in from Colonel Somerset of the Cape Mounted Rifles. The different Divisions made their way through the defiles of the mountains with trifling opposition and no loss, and formed a junction on the Gulu River yesterday. Captain Somerset was sent off to Graham's Town with the despatches soon after their arrival, for the information of the Governor, and when he returns a forward move-

ment to the Cabousie, it is supposed, will be ordered. This post is to be retained by 100 Infantry and 20 Cavalry, and the force divided between this and Fort Hare will consist of 500 men.

"In the afternoon a party was sent to burn Sandilli's kraal, which they accomplished amid the hooting of the Kafirs from the opposite hills.

"*23rd.*—Fine day. Rode with the General to Burn's Hill and Fort Cox. Burned some kraals, and saw several parties of armed Kafirs, with one of which, near Fort Cox, the escort exchanged some shots. Twenty-nine of the commissariat mules strayed from camp and could not be found in the evening.

"In the course of the night Lieutenant Owen of the Royal Engineers arrived from camp with a requisition for supplies. Small parties of Kafirs had been observed in the surrounding hills, but had not molested the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell had taken some thirty head of cattle or so.

"*24th.*—This morning an old man of Stock's tribe wandered into camp complaining of hunger and wanting to remain there. In all probability the old vagabond had been sent as a spy, and, acting on that supposition, he was fed and sent away.

"*25th.*—The commissariat mules that strayed the other evening were found at Fort Hare, to which fort they had been driven by a Chief called Bota, to whose kraal they had strayed, and were brought back this morning.

"The Hottentot levies are of little use except to expend ammunition. On one occasion during the present operations a party of them wasted 3,000 rounds of ammunition on three Kafirs, from whom only one shot was returned. The Rifles who went through the same part found the ground literally strewn with cartridges, and some canvas bearers for wounded men that they had under their charge were left behind in the bush and lost.

"Colonel Campbell's Division captured some cows, and some of the levies, when they got possession of a few,

started off to their homes with them. A camp is to be formed on the Gulu River, and occupied for a time. Colonel Campbell's Division is to occupy the site of this camp, and a permanent post for 100 Infantry and 20 Cavalry is to be formed here. On Tuesday the Headquarters camp is to be removed to a place called Baillie's Grove, so as to be nearer the scene of operations in the Keiskamma Hoek. Colonel Somerset, with the men of his own corps and some Light Infantry, is to be sent after Sandilli and his cattle to the Cabousie, whither they are supposed to have fled for safety.

"The two 3-pounders that Colonel Campbell took with his Division were found an encumbrance in place of being any use, and were compelled to be left behind, with a guard of fifty men over them, and were brought into Headquarters camp at three o'clock this afternoon. The Officer in command of them fired twice at some Kafirs on his way in from Colonel Somerset's camp, but does not know whether he did any mischief or not. This is the only occasion on which they were used, and, as they are not required here, they are to be sent into Fort Hare to-morrow. The report this evening is that about 350 head of cattle have been captured.

"*26th.*—Colonel Somerset's Division has left the Keiskamma Hoek for King William's Town, and will encamp at Baillie's Grove to-night. On their way this morning a party that was burning some huts was fired at by a Kafir, and a sergeant of the Cape Corps shot through the thigh. A Kafir was killed on the occasion.

"At King William's Town some Kafirs who had been interrupting the waggons were brought in by the escort, and flogged by order of the Commandant, Major Rumley, of the 6th Foot. One man who attempted to run away was shot by the sentry. A messenger had been sent to Captain Maclean by Sandilli, complaining of Commissioner Calderwood, and wishing to know what the Governor required. Unconditional surrender was the

answer. It is supposed the Kafirs are getting tired of the contest, and will soon compel Sandilli to submit.

"*September 27th.*—The company of the Rifles, with the waggons belonging to the Regiment, marched this morning for Baillie's Grove. The tents of the companies in the Keiskamma Hoek are to be sent to them on pack-mules, which will render them a little more comfortable during their stay in the mountains.

"*September 29th.*—Headquarters moved from the Debe Flats to the Umbazine Plain at 9 a.m., and was replaced on the Debe Flats by Colonel Campbell's Division from Fort Hare. It rained all the way from the Debe Flats to our new encampment, where we arrived at 1 p.m. It rained heavily all the afternoon and the greater part of the night, which rendered our position very uncomfortable. Soon after we reached our new ground the post came in, and brought news that Sir Harry Smith had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, Sir Henry Pottinger to go as Governor to Madras, and Sir George Berkeley as Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency. How they will work there remains to be seen. No cordiality has existed between them here. By this arrangement two great military luminaries will be eclipsed, and a third will have to make his court to another rising sun. *Sic transit.* For my own part, I am glad of the prospect of a change. Where power is delegated by the Commander-in-Chief to subordinates, they do not always exercise it with discretion, and the present folk have ridden at the top of their authority and disgusted all under them. I was sure something of this kind would happen after our abortive patrol in April last. The war is by far too expensive to the mother-country to be trifled with in that way.

"*30th.*—Heavy rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, during the night, and incessant rain all this morning. Everything looks cheerless. The horses stand shivering, and the cattle are lowing in their kraal. The

soldiers and servants paddle about in the wet and mud, the very picture of wretchedness.

"*October* 1*st*.—The rain continued incessant all day and all night, and this morning about seven there was a heavy thunderstorm, which flooded the camp. About nine the wind changed, and the day became fine, and enabled everyone to get their wet things dried.

"*2nd*.—Patrols were sent out in the morning to destroy the huts of the Kafirs. One, under the command of Captain Murray, was sent along the base of the Quilly Quilly Mountains on the Umbazine side; a second, under Lieutenant Fount, of the 73rd, was despatched to the south side of the Umbazine Hills; and in the afternoon the Headquarters, with the General's escort, sallied forth on a mission of destruction to the Debe Neck, north side of the same hills.

"Captain Murray's detachment met with some opposition, and about twenty shots were fired at them from the bush, by one of which a dragoon horse was wounded, but no other damage was done. Fount's party, under the direction of the great gunner, who brought home some beads and other female ornaments as *spolia belli*, met with no opposition, and burned a number of kraals. Headquarters, under the immediate command of the A.A.G., who led the dragoons gallantly on to explore the empty huts for female ornaments before they were committed to the flames, did good and meritorious service, and returned to camp triumphant, having burned thirty or forty straw huts, captured four goats, and surprised two old Kafir women who were in charge of them, and who, when their last means of subsistence was torn from them by the gallant band, became much excited and bestowed their blessing in choice Kafir on the party—which I am sorry to think was thrown away on them, as no one seemed to understand a word the poor old women said. The A.A.G.'s star seems to shine brightly in this quarter, as on a former occasion he captured a cow on the opposite side of the neck, and on a subsequent day

he actually surprised and took two women who had been driven by hunger from the bush to look for food in the plain.

"*3rd.*—Rode with the General to visit Colonel Buller's camp in the Keiskamma Hoek. The country in both the Quilly Quilly Valley and the Keiskamma Hoek is rich and beautiful beyond conception, and one cannot wonder at the Kafirs wishing to retain possession of so beautiful a spot.

"The men in Colonel Buller's camp are all healthy, notwithstanding the exposure and privations they have undergone since the patrol commenced. Only three trivial cases are under medical treatment.

"*4th.*—An express arrived from Lieutenant-Colonel Buller this morning to the General to say that Sandilli had sent two of his counsellors to say that he was collecting arms to give in, and begged that hostilities might cease. He stated that Mr. Calderwood had never sent him the Governor's message, which is not very probable. The General has sent back to say that, if Sandilli will give himself up either to Colonel Buller or himself, his safety will be guaranteed, and the war will be suspended until the new Governor's pleasure is known. He has also sent an express to the Governor with a copy of Sandilli's statement about Mr. Calderwood, and a copy to Mr. Calderwood himself, to enable that gentleman to prepare an explanation should Sandilli's declaration be true.

"Mr. Davis came in here last night with 150 of his Kafir Police. These men have proved themselves very efficient in the present contest.

"Day wet, with thunder and lightning, and a cold wind from the north-west. Camp muddy and miserable. The stream of water in the drain my servant has cut to carry the water off from my marquee would turn a mill. The soil is dark and boggy, and the site ill-adapted for a camp in wet weather. The whole face of the plain is covered with cup-like excavations. The nature of these is not well understood, though many theories have been started to account for them. One is that the soil is

excavated by a large worm, about 2 feet long, which abounds in this part of the country, and, when wet weather comes, the surface sinks down to this stratum of ironstone below. Whether this theory is true or not, the activity of these worms is prodigious, and the quantity of earth they throw up in the course of a night incalculable. The whole surface of the ground is covered with small eminences from an inch to three inches high, and these are constantly renewed. Ant-hills are by no means common in this kind of soil, though they abound everywhere else.

"*October 5th.*—Day cold, but clear and dry. An express has arrived from Colonel Somerset to say that he has seized 1,000 head of cattle on the Cabousie, and, as the Kei River is swollen from the recent rains, which prevents the Kafirs from driving their herd across, he expects to steal a number more. I say 'steal,' because no other term can be applied when cattle are taken and no opposition is made by their owners. This system of cattle-stealing and hut-burning is a disgrace to the age we live in, and, if the savages retaliate hereafter, no one can blame them, after the example of pillage and destruction that has been set them by the army on the present occasion.

"The Master-Gunner of Artillery, Burnaby, sallies forth, with a mounted bombadier, with a bag for plunder slung over his shoulder, following him ; and he generally returns with a number of beads and other female ornaments, which he exhibits without blushing to his friend, the A.A.G., who generally sallies forth at the head of the Lieutenant-General's escort to do a bit of swag and loot for himself, but with less success than the Master-Gunner. One of the General's A.D.C.'s, Seymour, has a weakness for burning Kafir huts. In the course of these expeditions of destruction the miserable women and children have been found dying of starvation, and it is stated that the 91st Patrol the other day shot some of these wretched objects to put them out of their misery! Can it be

wondered that their fathers and brothers attacked these humane gentry and wounded three of them?

"Rode out in the afternoon to look at a fresh piece of ground to encamp on. We selected a site on the opposite side of the ravine to where we are at present. Any change is desirable. If the men remain in this swamp much longer, disease must be the consequence. It is only surprising that more men have not been ill.

"Captain Somerset started this morning to join his father in the cattle-lifting line. At two to-morrow morning patrols are to leave this and Campbell's camp to hunt the Kafirs. Two companies go from this, and, as we cannot expect desperate men to act with forbearance, I have recommended Dr. Lock to accompany them in case of accidents. The Kafirs may not always be such unskilful marksmen as to hit nothing under the size of a horse.

"*October 6th.*—Mr. Brownley, Mr. Calderwood's Secretary, has come over to find out the line of demarcation between Sandilli's people and the friendly Kafirs, and to inquire about two horses, belonging to waggon-drivers, that were allowed to remain out all night the evening we arrived here, and strayed from camp. Their spoor is stated to have been traced to a kraal to the southwards of the camp, the owners of which no one seems disposed to acknowledge. The waggon-drivers and other camp-followers have been doing business on their own account, and have burned some kraals too near the friendly Kafirs, and it has been found necessary to restrain them by a General Order. This might have been anticipated from the Governor's Proclamation and the example set them by the army. Of course, they had sense enough to go where there was the least danger of opposition and the greatest prospect of plunder.

"This is a fine, warm, dry day, with a good breeze, and is a great comfort to us all, as it will afford an opportunity to those who remain in camp of getting their things dried and their tents aired.

"Sandilli sent his gun to Captain Maclean yesterday in token of submission, but a message was sent back to him that it could not be received, and he must give himself up either to the General or to some other Officer in command of a post, if he wished to put an end to the war.

"What he will do we shall see in a few days. He will either surrender or give his people orders to resist to the last, and go into the Colony to plunder, now that their cattle have been seized by Colonel Somerset.

"*Evening.*—The patrol has returned after a fatiguing day's work in the Tahu Doda Range without effecting anything beyond the capture of half a dozen goats. On one occasion, when the men were scouring a large kloof, the Kafirs drove some fifty or sixty head of cattle out of it on the opposite side, and made their escape into another. Small parties of Kafirs were seen in the distance who called out to the soldiers and defied them; and on one occasion a party that called out to the troops to come on were saluted with a ball amongst them from one of Lancaster's new long-ranged rifles, which astonished them and sent them scampering off. When Colonel Campbell's party, which was patrolling in concert with this, had breakfasted, and was on the point of returning back to his camp on the Debe Flats, some Kafirs who were on an opposite hill watching the troops called out: 'What! you are going away? Why don't you stop for us?' In fact, laughing at them!"

As soon as he had another opportunity of a little quiet time, Dr. Hall wrote again to Mrs. Sutherland:

"UMBAZINE FLATS,
"KAFRARIA,
"*October 8th*, 1847.

"On the 19th of September I wrote to you from the Debe Flats in answer to your letter of the 4th of July. As yet I have received none of your intermediate letters,

and the *Gloriana*, which arrived the other day with very late news from England, brought me no letter from you.

"The *Gloriana* has brought out an account of the appointment of Sir Harry Smith as Governor-General of South Africa, and the removal of Sir Henry Pottinger to Madras as Governor, and Sir George Berkeley as Commander of the Forces there. I suppose the Home authorities were disappointed in the progress made by Sir Henry and Sir George in the Kafir War, and tired and alarmed at the heavy expense attending it. In a country like this the authority of a Governor and Commander-in-Chief should not be separated, and the present people had not been here long before that truth was discovered, and the Home Government have very wisely solved the difficulty by appointing another to the combined offices. Sir Harry's military reputation is established by his victories on the Sutlej, and his experience here in the Kafir War of 1835 gives him a decided advantage. Indeed, a small memoir of his, drawn up, I fancy, at the request of the Commander-in-Chief, has horrified the military folks here. In it, after some preliminary observations, he states the plan of operations that ought to be adopted against the Kafirs, the posts that in his opinion ought to be occupied for their subjugation, and he winds up by saying that the war ought to be terminated in three weeks. His plan seems judicious, and I think, with proper talent and energy on the part of the people in authority, both during last year and this, greater progress ought to have been made than has been done; but whether he would be able to terminate the contest within the period he mentions requires to be proved. The result of our present campaign would lead one to say 'Yes,' and, by a knowledge of the Kafirs and judicious after-measures, their subjugation by the Government might be permanent. At the commencement of the present contest the Kafirs were evidently undervalued, and after the reverses at Burn's Hill and Trompeter's Drift they were just as much overrated, and a childish

dread of them seems to have seized on many who ought to have shown a better example to their men.

"On the 20th of last month the different Divisions of the Army penetrated the Amatola Mountains, and, after making their way through the different valleys and fastnesses, formed a junction on the banks of the Gulu River, in the Keiskamma Hoek, where Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, with his Division of the Rifle Brigade and Hottentot levy, remains encamped, and where a permanent military post will be established, if Sir Harry Smith, on his arrival, entertains the same views as Sir George Berkeley.

"The other three Divisions made a retrograde movement on the 25th and 26th: Colonel Somerset to King William's Town to refresh his Cavalry horses, preparatory to a patrol on the Cabousie River, where Sandilli's herds of cattle had been driven; Colonel Campbell to Fort Hare to get his tents and baggage, to enable him to relieve the Headquarter Division on the Debe Flats; and Major Suttar's Division fall back on the Dovine River, in the Windvogel range of hills, to co-operate with Colonel Somerset when he makes his move on the Cabousie. The troops on their passage through the mountains met with little opposition, and up to this period only four men have been wounded, one of whom died on the second day. A sergeant on escort with some waggons was run over and killed on the spot; a soldier, in cleaning his musket, shot off one of his fingers; and a Hottentot, in crossing the Keiskamma when it was flooded, was drowned—which form the amount of our casualties in this mighty conflict for which so much preparation was considered necessary. On the part of the Kafirs some twenty or thirty men have been shot, a number of huts have been burned, and the unfortunate women and children rendered homeless and compelled to seek shelter in the woods during the wet, inclement weather. Some goats and about 1,500 head of cattle have been seized. But altogether it is a miserable affair, and where there is no resistance one cannot help feeling compassion for

the poor people. The Kafirs are wags in their way. The day before a large patrol was sent out from Colonel Campbell's camp on the Debe Flats to scour the Tahu Doda Hills, and, after toiling through the wooded ravines and taking nothing, they were on the point of retiring when a party of Kafirs on a neighbouring hill called out in derision: 'What! You are not going home already? Wait for us a bit!' One one occasion they were seen driving their cattle out at the side of a wooded ravine, while the troops entered the other; but they had no means of getting at them, and the Kafirs knew that quite well.

"Sandilli, however, has made two or three efforts to negotiate, but his advances have met with the stern answer, 'Unconditional surrender,' and whether he will submit to that remains to be seen. Hunger and cold may drive him to it, and, as his people are beginning to suffer dreadfully from the system of devastation that has been adopted, that may have its due weight with his counsellors and tribe. It was with that view that the dire necessity was resorted to, but it is teaching the Kafirs a fearful lesson should they ever have power to enter the Colony again as enemies. The weather has been wet and cold, and the troops have suffered greatly from exposure, but as yet it has not affected their health, though we cannot expect that to continue much longer.

"The day the troops marched for the mountains it rained all day and the greater part of the night; they had no tents with them, and you can imagine how comfortable their bivouac must have been when they arrived after dark at their destination. The next day, fortunately, was a fine one, but they had a succession of rain for some days after. Now they have all got tents, and are comparatively comfortable.

"On the 29th—the day Headquarters left the Debe Flats for this place—it began to rain soon after we commenced our march. Our camping-ground was, of course, wet when we reached it, but it continued to pour for eight-and-forty hours, and in the course of the second

night the water was ankle-deep in all the tents. My servant had dug a trench round my tent, and when I got up in the morning I found a stream running down on each side of my tent that would have turned a mill. We have only had one dry day since we have been here, and last night it rained and blew so that I had serious thoughts of getting up and dressing myself, but when I sat up everything felt so damp, cold, and wretched that I crept under the blankets and awaited *en philosophe* the course of events. Fortunately, the rain ceased and the wind fell, and I dropped off to sleep again. It is, however, raining as hard as it can at this moment, and blowing in a way that would make you look out for chimney-pots had you such a storm in London. To-morrow, I am happy to find, we move into camp at King William's Town, and it won't exactly break my heart if I never see the Umbazine Flats again.

"Yesterday, about one o'clock, my servant, who had been sent out with the horses, came running in to say that all three had been driven off into the bush by Kafirs. A party of dragoons was despatched immediately after them, and the Kafirs, I fancy, seeing their approach and despairing of making their escape with the booty, took the headstalls off them and drove them into the plain. I was glad enough to recover them with that trifling loss, as I should have found great difficulty in replacing them, to say nothing of the loss I should have sustained from a pecuniary point of view. At first only one Kafir made his appearance, but, when his comrades saw that my servant was armed, six others came out of the bush to his assistance. The circumstance afforded half an hour's excitement to the people in camp, but it will act as a salutary lesson to all by showing them that the Kafirs are lurking about and constantly on the watch to see what they can steal. If this Jukosé Sandilli would only make his peace, I should have a chance of getting back to Cape Town, and there I intend to remain, if I possibly can, during the rest of my service at the Cape."

Dr. Hall also very properly thought it incumbent on him to keep Sir James McGrigor, the head of the Medical Department in London, informed of what was passing in South Africa. Some of the series of letters may well be quoted, as follows :

"*Private and Confidential.*

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,
"KAFFRARIA,
"*October 13th*, 1847.

"Since the troops took the field, I have, at the risk of being thought troublesome, written to you from time to time, giving you an account of the progress in military affairs in this part of the world ; but if I have troubled you unnecessarily with too frequent correspondence, I trust you will excuse me, and ascribe it to that feeling of local importance which people on the spot are apt to ascribe even to such trivial events as the mountain in labour which we have recently had enacted on the Amatolas.

"No person, however, could have calculated on so bloodless a campaign from the reports that were in circulation prior to its commencement of the fastnesses the troops would have to penetrate in the mountains, and the desperate valour of the Gaika Kafirs. Both, however, had been much overrated. The passes that were considered impassable were, with one or two exceptions, found to be open valleys, and even difficult paths, where brave and resolute people might have checked the advance of the troops with little loss or risk to themselves, as the troops could only pass in single or Indian file through them, were, after a feeble resistance, deserted by the Kafirs, notwithstanding their boasting prior to the commencement of the campaign.

"The judicious advance of the troops from different points puzzled and alarmed them, and they fled at once, apprehensive, I suppose, of being hemmed in by the

advancing columns and utterly destroyed. Sandilli has already made two or three attempts to negotiate, but all his advances have met with the firm reply that nothing but unconditional surrender on his part could or would be listened to, and whether he will have resolution to stand out against the wishes of his tribe remains to be seen.

"The poor women and children are suffering great hardships from the system of devastation that has been adopted by the authorities. I doubt not sound and well-considered policy dictated its adoption; but still, one cannot help compassionating the sufferings of the helpless, and regretting that circumstances should have called for so rigorous a mode of warfare. Now, however, that it has been adopted, it must be carried through at all hazards, and the Kafir made to feel and understand that it was humanity, and not fear of him or want of power to inflict punishment, that dictated former measures.

"The service is harassing and inglorious, and all are anxious to get away from it. Sir Harry Smith, in a short memoir, drawn up for the Commander-in-Chief, and which has found its way out here through the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Sir Henry Pottinger, states that the force required for a war of this kind would be about 3,000 troops, and with that force the war ought to be put an end to in three weeks, after which the number might be reduced to 1,500 men. Whether he will adhere to these opinions when he lands remains to be seen. The chances are he will see reasons to modify or change them altogether, for the Kafir has certainly gained experience, he is better armed, and consequently a more formidable foe, than he was in 1835-36, when Sir Harry was here before; but still, I think his prowess has been overrated, and a childish fear of him seems to have taken possession of men's minds since the reverses which were experienced at Burn's Hill and Trompeter's Drift last year at the beginning of the war. The present campaign

will go far to dispel this vague dread of the Kafir, and tend to place him in his proper position, both morally and physically. The Kafirs are now divided, since one portion has been made to act against another, and by judicious political arrangements at this juncture their power may be effectually and permanently crushed.

"When this contest is over, I shall have, I fear, a number of Medical Officers clamorous to get away; so that you see there is a goodly bit to manage; and I doubt not I shall incur odium for not allowing them all to go at once, as it is difficult to convince anyone that his claim is not the strongest and most deserving of consideration.

"There is certainly nothing to recommend this country, and on the frontier, if an Officer be not fond of field sports, he is at a loss to occupy his time. There are no books, and no means of providing them. He is in a measure cut off from all society, and he is fortunate if he escape the prevalent custom of smoking and its accompaniment. In making this observation, you must consider it a general one, as I am happy to acquaint you I do not know one single Officer of the hospital staff to whom it is applicable, and I have much satisfaction in being able to make this statement to you. For of all failings, that of drunkenness in a medical man is one of the most serious.

"The Annual Return for March, I am sorry to say, has been delayed for want of Surgeon Eddie's, of the Cape Corps, to complete it; but I have used my best endeavours to hasten him, and immediately I receive his return I will complete the general one for the command.

"The stations on this Command are far apart, there are no regular posts to many of them, and communication with them is uncertain. The Cape Corps is distributed all over the Colony from Cape Town to Natal, and 110 miles across the Orange River to Bloemfontein, so that it requires a long time to collect the returns from these stations; but Mr. Eddie has rather exceeded, I think,

on the present occasion the time that is necessary, and I have impressed on him the necessity for more punctuality in future.

"A cause has just been decided in the Circuit Court at Utenlage which has exerted nearly as great a sensation in this country as White's, of the 7th Hussars, did in England—viz., a criminal action for assault, and a civil action for damages, brought against Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, of the 9th Regiment, for flogging a waggon-driver at Fort Peddie in May, 1846, without trial, for disobedience of orders in refusing to go and cut wood for the use of the garrison when deputed to do so. The jury in the criminal information found a verdict for the prosecution, in opposition to the summing-up of the judge, but recommended Colonel Lindsay to the consideration of the Court in consequence of the peculiar circumstances under which he was placed at the time. The civil action the judge decided at once in Colonel Lindsay's favour, with costs, as there is no jury in civil causes in this colony; and the present cause shows the propriety of its being so, for five of the jurors who sat on the criminal part of the action had subscribed to a fund in aid of the prosecution."

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP ON THE GAMKA,
"NEAR THE KEI,
"*November 2nd*, 1847.

"I am favoured with your kind notes of the 2nd of June and the 1st and 13th of July. Military affairs are progressing rather more prosperously here than they have done for some months past. The General, having secured the Kafir rebel Chief Sandilli, and sent him into Graham's Town as a present to the Governor to dispose of, determined on punishing two other Chiefs, called Pato and Kreli, who had never made their submission to Government, though they had given no trouble for some months past, being satisfied, I suppose, with the quiet possession of the plunder they took last year; but,

still, it was right to make them feel that the power of Great Britain to punish all who trespass on her rights, even in one of her most distant Colonies, is supreme, so a Division of 1,400 men, partly regular troops and partly irregular, having been formed at King William's Town, the General left that place on the 29th ult., and arrived here on the 31st. Our usual luck of bad weather has followed us, for a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on before we had time to pitch our tents, and it has continued to rain ever since. To mend matters, and to make me more satisfied and in a better humour with my position, my servant turned my horses out to grass without orders yesterday, and in the heavy rain and fog which came on in the afternoon he could not find them all, and I have lost two of my best riding horses, which have strayed or been driven off into the enemy's country; and, as the people that went out to look for them this morning could find no traces of them, I have little chance of seeing them again. This loss is a most serious inconvenience to me at this moment, as I cannot replace them here, to say nothing of the pounds shillings and pence part of the affair, which is rather heavy also. However, men become practical philosophers in a short time in the field, and, as I cannot remedy the disaster, there is no use in fretting myself about it.

"On the 30th, when on march between the Gonoobi and a small field-work dignified by the name of Fort Wellington, Colonel Lamont, who had received some information through one of his Kafir spies concerning the Chief Pato, left the General's Division after the midday halt with 230 men of his own Corps, the Cape Mounted Rifles, and a battalion of Hottentots, called Hagg's Levy, expecting by a rapid march to secure Pato and seize his cattle before he could have time to drive them across the Kei. But in the morning, when they reached Pato's country, they found the kraal deserted; and a little after midday, when the men were exhausted by a long march on a sultry and oppressive day, and were about to form

their camp for the night, in place of cattle, they observed a number of Kafirs at a distance, who came down and took up a well-chosen position on the top of a hill near the troops, which was covered with rocks and scrubby thorn bushes, with deep wooded kloofs in the rear. When asked what they wanted, one man rode out and said, 'The cows are in the mud'(meaning the troops), 'and we are come to fight and end the war!' shouting, jumping, dancing, and throwing up their arms, as is their savage custom when excited. On seeing this, Colonel Somerset ordered part of the force under him to dislodge them from their position, which was done after ten minutes' or a quarter of an hour's heavy firing, leaving fourteen of the Kafirs dead on the field, and dispersing the rest into the kloofs.

"The fire of the Kafirs, though heavy, was ill-directed, and the only accident that occurred on the side of the troops was one Hottentot of Hagg's Levy shot in the fleshy part of the thigh. One man of the Cape Corps, however, had his throat cut at an earlier period of the day. He had ridden on in front with Captain Somerset, one of the General's A.D.C.'s, who had required his services for the patrol, when they suddenly found themselves amongst armed Kafirs, and were compelled to ride for their lives. Somerset escaped and reached some rising ground, when, looking back for his orderly, whom he had lost sight of amongst the bushes in the ravine below, he was shocked to see a Kafir in the act of cutting the poor fellow's throat with an assegai, and three or four other Kafirs running down to assist him.

"The orderly was not a good horseman, and it is supposed he must have been thrown from his horse, and seized by the savage who was at hand.

"When the news of Colonel Somerset's encounter with the Kafirs reached camp, the General immediately detached 20 men of the 7th Dragoon Guards, with 100 regular infantry, to a place called Fort Warden, about eight miles from this in the direction of the Kei;

but the weather was so wet, thick, and inclement that they could neither see nor effect anything, and they and Colonel Somerset, with the men of the Cape Corps, returned into camp this afternoon, leaving Hagg and his men to look after Pato's cows.

"I believe Fort Warden will be occupied either by the Headquarters camp, if grass, wood, and water be in plenty, or by Colonel Somerset's Corps and the Hottentot Levy, if found deficient.

"This disposition to fight on the part of Pato's men will protract this contest some time longer, and I fear Sir Harry Smith will yet have to put an end to it. We are looking out for his arrival about the middle of this month, but as yet no confirmation of the rumour of Sir George Berkeley's appointment to Madras has reached this country. Our communication with England, however, is so irregular and uncertain that it may be on its way, or even gone on to India, as there is a report that a vessel with a large mail for the Cape was unable to land it, and has taken it on to India.

"Sir Henry Young, I hear, after waiting some time for a passage, proceeds *viâ* England to his new Government at Adelaide, in South Australia!"

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP ON THE GAMKA,
"NEAR THE KEI RIVER,
"*December 6th*, 1847.

"I am favoured with your two private notes, dated the 30th of August and the 21st of September, and feel much indebted to you for your kind mention of my name to Sir Harry Smith, our new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, whom I knew some twenty years ago, but thought he would have long since forgotten me, although it was through his recommendation, backed by the late Lord Keane, that you were pleased to honour me with promotion to the rank of Staff-Surgeon at a time when promotion was not quite so rapid as it has since, fortunately for the Department, become through your con-

siderate suggestions to the Military Commission which sat a few years ago.

"Things here are at a standstill, and nothing, I think, will be undertaken until Sir Harry arrives, as the period of service of the Hottentot levies has expired, and it is not probable that Sir Henry Pottinger will take any steps to renew it when Sir Harry Smith's arrival may be looked for daily. The Hottentots are a useful body of men in a contest of this kind, which consists more of adroitness in seizing and driving herds of cattle than in any military prowess. They are judiciously clothed for the service, march well, and are easily subsisted, which are great recommendations where transport is difficult and fixed accommodation out of the question. The Kafirs, however, when they are not backed by the Queen's troops, care little about them, and it will be found, if ever they are trusted to act alone, that they have been overrated.

"The General has received an official notification of his removal to the Staff in India, but by an oversight in the letter from the War Office it is not stated on which Presidency. He is anxious to withdraw the patrol and captured cattle (3,000 in number) from the eastern bank of the Kei, and then return to Graham's Town. A sudden rise of the river has detained him for some days, but, as we have now got hot land-winds, the river will fall rapidly, and I should think the troops would be able to effect a passage either to-day or to-morrow.

"My official letter will have informed you of Assistant-Surgeon Hodgson's resignation of his commission. Dr. Hodgson is a well-educated, willing, good Medical Officer, and in times like these I regret his retirement. I have placed Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Hadaway, a good Medical Officer, in charge of the 73rd, as it has now neither Surgeon nor Assistant of its own, but I hope you will be good enough to replace them as soon as you conveniently can. Mr. Paynter is so anxious to get home that he prefers going to the depôt of his Regiment to the

chances of promotion in this country. I told him that I had mentioned his name to you, and when I found that he was adverse to remaining in this country I begged him to write to you and state his real wishes, which he tells me he has done. Mr. Paynter is a very good and attentive Officer, and I have had every reason to be well satisfied with him. An order has been sent from the Horse Guards for him to join the depôt of his Regiment at home, and when Mr. Lloyd reaches the headquarters of his Corps, which he has not yet done, I will endeavour to make arrangements for Mr. Paynter's return home. I have ordered the Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Cameron from Shiloh, and intend to attach him to the Rifles. Staff-Surgeon Cotton talks of applying for a Medical Board when Headquarters go into Graham's Town; and Dr. Atkinson, who must relieve him there, will not be long in following his example. Pursuant to your instructions, I have taken steps to relieve Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Minto, and will, as you recommend, bring his length of service abroad under the notice of the General, if no opportunity offer of sending him home on duty. I intend Dr. Jameson to relieve him in Graham's Town. Mr. Allen, of the Cape Corps, is anxious to get home on private affairs, but I fear it will be difficult to meet his wishes just at present; though, as his affairs are of the utmost consequence to him, he says I must endeavour to do what I can, as I have been compelled to withhold my consent to an application recommended by Colonel Somerset, his Commanding Officer. Having thus tired you, I fear, with this long detail of our wants and wishes in the Medical Department, I must conclude with kind remembrances to Lady McGrigor and your son, and best wishes for your own health."

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"*December 20th*, 1847.

"Our new Governor and High Commissioner, Sir Harry Smith, arrived here on the 18th, and the local paper (*Graham's Town Journal*) which I send you by this day's

post, will show you what grand doings there are, for this part of the world, in honour of the event. The good folk here seem to think they cannot make enough of him, and he evidently commences his arduous undertaking with the goodwill and best wishes of every member of the community; and I sincerely hope he will be able to realize their most sanguine expectations. One of his first acts was to liberate Sandilli from prison, and send him and his followers home, which gave them great satisfaction; and I dare say by this act of grace he will secure that Chief's goodwill, and induce Pato and Kreli to submit. Indeed, a rumour was in circulation yesterday that Pato had sent to Captain Maclean, the Civil Commissioner at King William's Town, to say that he was willing to surrender the 5,000 head of cattle demanded of him, and deliver up his arms, which is not at all improbable, as he was a great ally of Sir Harry during the last war, and must know the kind of man he will have to deal with if the war be protracted. Sir Harry started to-day at noon for King William's Town, where he has summoned the Kafir Chiefs to meet him and have a conference, and as he knows their character so well, I think it probable good will result from it. People smile at his way of managing the Kafirs, but man in his savage state is much taken by outward appearances, and his rods with brass door-knobs on the top are as good symbols of authority and supremacy as any other. He has had about a dozen of these made, and each Chief will be compelled to place one of them in his kraal as a token of subjection. Those that refuse will be treated as enemies, and pursued with all the energy of his character.

"I look on the war in this part of the country as terminated, but the accounts from Natal are serious. Panda, the Chief of the Zoolos, has become troublesome, and when the last accounts came away, troops had been despatched for the protection of the Dutch Boers, who not long ago wanted to form a league with him against the British colonists.

"I should not be surprised if Sir Harry went there, as he asked me to-day, when I was out riding with him, if I had any active young Medical Officer I could recommend. I told him I had one I could recommend with confidence, and I named Dr. Cameron to him, who is a young man of great promise.

"Sir Henry Pottinger left us the day before Sir Harry arrived, and this morning at half-past four I went to wish our late Commander-in-Chief a pleasant journey. You will find in the paper I sent you a copy of his farewell order of the day to the troops that had served with him in the field, and I am sure you will be pleased to find that the Department has been mentioned as having given him satisfaction. Fortunately, we had not much to do either in the way of sick or wounded, but we were all prepared and willing to act had there been occasion for our services on a more extended scale, and he has kindly given us credit for our good intentions.

"Dr. Cotton has obtained leave on a Medical Board, and he left this for Cape Town yesterday. When I hear of his embarkation I will notify it officially to the Office. Sir Harry has decided on sending home the detachment of the 62nd Regiment that was landed here in July last when on its way home from India, and I have named Mr. Minto to Sir Harry as the Medical Officer to take charge of it; so, if he can only get down to Cape Town in time, he will be able to return home by that opportunity. But married men with families do not move expeditiously in this country. I have ordered up Dr. Jameson from Port Elizabeth to relieve him in his charge of the Medical Depôt and other duties, and I hope he will be here by the end of the week. Mr. Lloyd, of the Rifles, is still in Cape Town, waiting for a passage to the Buffalo mouth. It is no fault of his, as he has been ordered a passage to the Buffalo, and must wait for a vessel proceeding to that port.

"On the 23rd I commence a tour of the frontier posts for the purpose of examining the invalids and inspecting

the different hospitals, and I suppose I shall fall in with the Governor at King William's Town, or perhaps on the Buffalo, as he intends after his interview with the Kafir Chiefs to fix on the military posts that will be most desirable to retain. Dr. Atkinson will come into Graham's Town as Senior Medical Officer. He writes me word that he is quite equal to the duty, and his rheumatism has nearly left him. Your note to him had a salutary effect, and I think he will perform the duty here well. He has had charge of the hospital in King William's Town since we took the field in September, and has performed the duty there to my satisfaction."

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"*January* 10*th*, 1848.

"Our new Governor, Sir Harry Smith, has acted on the Roman principle of *veni, vidi, vici* with the Kafirs, and peace on this frontier may be considered as firmly established; and, so long as he remains at the head of affairs in this Colony, I think it will continue, for the Kafirs both like and fear him, and they appear to have great confidence in his justice and moderation. His way of managing them certainly seems singular, but he knows their character well, and I suppose from former experience he considers it the best way of dealing with them. Already he has adopted and carried out many important measures that a short time ago would have met with determined opposition, and been considered impracticable; but his plan is to dictate to the Kafirs as their Jukosé Jukulu, or great Chief, and not argue with them, as his predecessors did, and it seems to answer better.

"His scheme of a border militia will meet with more opposition from the patriotic colonists, and give him more trouble than the whole Kafir question; and when the enormous expenditure of this peddling war, which has been enriching them for so many months past, is curtailed—and Sir Harry is doing it with an unsparing hand—they will begin to complain of his measures, and

magnify the acts of detached thieves into national aggression on the part of the Kafirs. The poor Kafirs are the scapegoats, and get credit for every delinquency that takes place on the frontier, and I verily believe many things are laid to their charge that they are quite innocent of. A Vagrant Law to restrain the idle and vicious in this colony is as much required as an active police on the borders of Kafirland, and unless something of that kind be adopted, thieving and vagabondage in this vicious and mixed population will never be put down.

"In Natal, Surgeon Menzies, of the 45th Regiment, a good and intelligent Medical Officer, writes me word that disturbances among the Dutch Boers, and an invasion of the colony by the Zooloo Chief Panda, are apprehended. I enclose a small outline sketch of Natal, which he sent me, that will give you a general idea of the localities where danger is apprehended.

"The Lieutenant-Governor has detached a small mounted party to Bushman's River to protect the well-affected farmers in that vicinity. The Dutch Boers on the Klip River are disaffected, have refused to take the oath of allegiance, and are trekking across the Quattelamba or Drakenberg range of mountains to their friends on the other side. Panda, it is reported, has actually crossed the Buffalo River with his savage hordes, and threatens to ravage the whole colony and exterminate every soul, whether Dutch, English, or Kafir. Of course, the good people of Natal will not submit quietly to this, and he may meet with more opposition than he expects.

"Captain Warden, the Civil Commissioner of Bloemfontein, on the other side of the Orange River, has been crying wolf again in consequence of some gasconade on the part of a few Boers on the Windberg, and has demanded 500 additional troops for six months. But his last demand was based on such slender grounds that when the Dragoons arrived there, after a forced march,

with instructions to attack the enemy immediately, which Sir Henry Pottinger, from his reports, supposed to be actually in arms in the field, their services were not required, as there was no enemy to attack. Sir Henry, I understand, was very angry at this, and, if the present Governor finds that there is as little cause for an additional force in that quarter as there was in the beginning of last year, he will be apt to tell him his mind, and that, perhaps, in not very measured terms.

"Sir Harry was to start from King William's Town yesterday for Colesberg, and it is supposed he will extend his trip to Bloemfontein, if not to Natal.

"I have just completed my tour of inspection of the posts on the frontier, and am busy with the invalids and transfers of men; but I hope to be able to get down to Cape Town in a few days, when I must set seriously to work again to clear off the arrear of office business that has accumulated during my absence on the frontier. The departure of the detachment of the 62nd, the 90th, 27th, 7th Dragoon Guards, and battalion of the 91st for England, and the transfer of the 6th Regiment and a company of artillery from Cape Town to the frontier, will create a little bustle for a short period, but in process of time things will settle down again into their normal routine.

"In a short time I shall be able to send you my inspection report of the hospitals, and the confidential report of the Medical Officers, and immediately the arrangements for embarking the troops are completed I will send you the names of the Medical Officers who accompany them; but as yet I know neither the amount of tonnage taken up nor the number of men that are to embark. Indeed, it cannot be ascertained until the invaliding and discharging of men to become military settlers on the frontier is at an end.

"I send you an extract of the *Graham's Town Journal*, containing an account of Sir Harry's interview with the Kafir Chiefs on the 7th instant."

On Sir George Berkeley's departure for India, Dr. Hall was thanked in General Orders of the 17th of December, 1847, for his services in the field, at the termination of Sir George Berkeley's campaign on the Amatola Mountains and Kei River: "The Lieutenant-General's acknowledgments are due to Dr. Hall, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, and to the Officers of the Medical Department, for the arrangements they have made for the sick, and their attendance both in the hospital and in the field."

Dr. Hall left Port Elizabeth on the 29th of January, 1848, and landed in Table Bay on the 1st of February. His letter of the 3rd of May, 1848, to Mrs. Sutherland told her of the success of Sir Harry Smith's policy with the Kafirs, which had entirely altered the aspect of affairs. He wrote to her as follows:

"CAPE TOWN,
"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*May 3rd*, 1848.

"The tardy schooner has arrived at last, and brought me your long-expected letters of the 19th and 31st of December, and one from my friend Georgie, with, I must acknowledge, a very good postscript from you. Is it not very strange that steamers out to this country always have longer passages than any other vessels? I cannot account for it in any other way than by supposing that they do not take coals for the whole voyage, and their sailing capabilities are so much under the ordinary average that, when they are compelled to resort to canvas, they make a sorry business of it.

"I heard of your letters on board the *Acheron* by the *Childe Harold* on the 4th of April, and here I have been expecting them daily ever since. Even the *Mary Ann*, a sailing-vessel which left England some time after the *Acheron*, arrived here a day before her, as she came in on the 1st, and the *Acheron* did not reach Simon's Bay until yesterday. Simon's Bay, I must tell you, is the naval station at the Cape. It is on the opposite side of

the Cape promontory, and distant from Cape Town about one-and-twenty miles. The first seven or eight, through Rondeboek and Wynberg, are very pretty, as these two villages are made up of country-houses, where some of the merchants and wealthy inhabitants reside, and neat cottages, which are rented to visitors from India and invalids. The number of visitors from India used to be greater in former times than it is now, but still a considerable number arrive annually, seeking either health or amusement, and glad to get away for a time from the grilling heat of India. At one time it was calculated that visitors from India spent between £60,000 and £70,000 at the Cape annually, and, as they nearly all reside in the neighbourhood of Cape Town when they are here, it makes a considerable difference to the tradespeople whether many or few arrive. The other day they were in great alarm for fear that a proposition that had been made to allow invalids to proceed direct from India to England, with the same privileges that they enjoy at the Cape, should be carried into effect. At the Cape an Officer's time counts as service in India, and he is allowed to draw, not only his pay, but a large portion of his allowance also; whereas, when he proceeds to England, under existing regulations he gets nothing but his Regimental pay. His allowances are all struck off, and he is not allowed to count the time so spent as service. No wonder, therefore, that they are anxious to get the Cape privileges of furlough extended to England. All the military men are anxious to obtain this boon, but for some reason or another that I do not understand the civilians are opposed to it, and the question has been referred back by the Court of Directors in London for the Governor-General's report, which will take between two or three years to obtain, they say; and by that time the question of a renewal of their Charter will be on the *tapis*, as the present one will expire in 1853, but may be continued on for two years longer by permission of the Board of Control.

"I admire the verses on your Christmas and New Year's Day letters very much, and I thank you, darling, for the selection, which I fully appreciate, I can assure you.

"Your mind would soon be relieved by the receipt of my letter written on the 16th of November, after the troops had taken vengeance on the Kafirs for the murder of the five Officers on the Kei. The General expressed a wish that no one should write until after the patrol, but some penny-a-line camp-follower put the account in the papers at once, and these must have found their way to England in some ship that was on the eve of sailing. The whole transaction was shocking and horrid enough, but all that about scooping out the eyes, beating with chains, and cutting the flesh from the bones of poor Dr. Campbell, was pure fiction. The bodies were certainly very much mutilated when found, but that was done chiefly by numerous flocks of vultures, and packs of jackals and wolves, that abound in the place where the murder was committed, if murder it must be called; but the Kafirs do not consider it as such, and look on the whole affair as very creditable to their military strategy. Since then the arms taken from the Officers that were killed have been given up by order of Sir Harry Smith, and by-and-by we shall hear how the surprise took place, and what number of Kafirs the Officers killed before they were despatched. Two bodies of dead Kafirs were found the next day, and we were told that the Kafirs acknowledged a loss of seven on the occasion. I think I must have given you all the particulars of the tragedy at the time, and, as it is not a pleasant theme, we will drop it and turn to matters of a more cheerful and agreeable nature.

"Sir Harry Smith, my previous letters will have informed you, has done more than his most sanguine friends and admirers could possibly have expected of him. He has not only settled the Kafir War, but arranged the difficult and knotty point between the emigrant

Dutch Boers and Government, which had been going on for some years, and becoming each year more complicated, until at last it was considered out of the power of anyone to arrange. The Boers had become suspicious of the good faith of the Government, and Government began to view them as a disaffected rabble that required putting down by the *ultima ratio regum*, which, literally translated, means common and other playthings of that kind that Kings use towards their loving and obedient subjects when they wish to correct their faults.

"The Dresden and Free Agency questions you have settled long ere this, and I am glad you will not be compelled to go to Germany now—unless on the free agency score you wish it yourself. You have been too critical, dearest, of my expression, which, though ill-chosen, was not meant to convey the meaning you have evidently put on it, and I hope you will pardon my stupidity in not being more guarded in my language when addressing the Professor. But a camp, after all, is not a choice place for writing letters in; there are so many things to distract your attention, and so little time usually given to write letters in. I hope I have done with tents for the remainder of my days, and I will forgive you if you catch me picnicking when I come to England.

"Now, darling, if you and Georgie can muster courage sufficient to venture on a long voyage to join me—for I cannot, unfortunately, come for you—you must get your cousin to look out for a comfortable cabin in the poop of some good ship where the Captain takes his wife to sea, if possible. The *Gloriana* is a good ship, and the Captain is a kind man, I hear, and he generally takes his wife with him for the benefit of the ladies on board. These are points of importance where ladies are compelled to travel alone, as I fear you will have to do. On board Indiamen disagreeable and impertinent people are occasionally found as passengers, and ladies are apt to be made uncomfortable if the Captain is not a person they can look to for support and protection. You must

let me know your views, dearest, as early as you can, so that I may have everything ready for your reception, and as there will, I hope, be no question about the object of your journey, I will be prepared with a special licence that will enable us to be united at once, and obviate any difficulty or embarrassment on your part. I wrote to you the other day, enclosing an order on my agent for £—. This sum you will expend in any way you think proper. If you wish to have a piano, buy one, or anything else that you fancy. There's no use sending you more; you are so sensitive on this point; and I do not wish to do anything that would hurt you, love.

"Perhaps it would be as well for you to get a riding-habit made, and you may as well bring out a lady's saddle and bridle, as you may wish to ride on horseback occasionally—or, at all events, if you do not, Georgie may, as it is the fashion here. Of your other equipment you are the best judge, but there are good shops here, where almost everything can be procured, and at reasonable prices.

"If I can get another house before you arrive, I will do so. The one I have taken is nice-looking and built in the English style, but it is too much on the public road to suit either your taste or mine. I don't cotton to it at all, and get on very slowly with the furnishing. I have only put a carpet down in one of the parlours, though I have got it for the other, but somehow or other I have no heart to go on with it. The bedrooms I have had covered with fine matting, which I like better than carpet for that purpose. There are four bedrooms, and a dressing-room between the two front bedrooms upstairs, but I am told, from the circumstance of the house being covered with slate, they are very hot in the summer months. Now they are cool and pleasant enough. I intend one of the front rooms for ours; Georgie can have the other. The dressing-closet I will appropriate for my own particular use, and you ladies can have a back bedroom each to do what you like in. Below there are

two rooms on the right-hand side as you enter, divided by a partition, and on the left-hand side the two rooms form one by means of folding doors. There is a small yard behind the back rooms ; then comes the kitchen and pantry, one on each side, connected with the house by an enclosed passage ; and going to the kitchen are servants' rooms and a coal-house on one side of the yard, and a room and out-offices on the other. The yard is closed in at the bottom by the stable and forage-loft and coach-house, which unites the two wings of outhouses on each side of the yard. In front is a small Cockney-looking slip of garden, with a balcony in front of the windows, closed in front with trellis-work, with a vine growing over it, which has been much neglected and wants pruning and nailing—which it is not likely to get at present from Mr. John Hall, Doctor. There is a very pretty convolvulus growing over the trellis, which I should like to preserve for you.

" Is your brother Robert still in Mr. Grant's office, or has he left them ? Giovanni, I fear, will find West Indian practice different from London, but I am glad to hear he is getting on well. Does La Vaccatina talk of going out to him in the West Indies ? Or is she content to remain in England, and allow him to make a living by his own exertions ? He'll run into debt, you'll find, with everyone who will trust him in Kingston, and become in time a second Pem Hobson in the tally line. Dakyns would not take well to English practice at his time of life, and he would be wrong, in my opinion, to enter on it. It is fatiguing, requires much attention, and the remuneration for the generality of medical practice is small. All do not obtain the magnificent fees our friend Giovanni used to calculate on when he went down to Rugby to see his own sister when she was ill there. Dakyns' health is precarious, and the damp of the English climate might aggravate his asthmatic affection. The Davidsons, I believe, have large concerns in Jamaica, and if they made it worth Dakyns' while to go out there,

it would not be a bad speculation. Better, I should say, than the medical practice at home. However, Mrs. D. and all his family will be in favour of the latter, as it will keep him amongst them. And here are you, Carita, voluntarily offering to banish yourself! How proud I ought to be of the sacrifice you are making!—and, believe me, I estimate it at its full value. No one can be more sensible of its vastness than I am, and no one will ever appreciate it so much as I shall. It will be the study of my life to make you forget that you have even made it, dearest. But—and you will neither take offence nor misconstrue the expression, I am certain—there is still time for you to consider the question of your coming out here. If you prefer remaining in England until my return, I don't see, after what has passed between us, as I now look on you as my wife, why you should hesitate or feel any delicacy in allowing me to contribute towards your comfort, which I can now well afford without any inconvenience. Your going on the Continent alone I should not like, for reasons which it is not necessary to enter on here, and with this feeling I leave the decision, as I have told you before, entirely in your own hands.

"I pray God may bless and preserve you, my dearest love."

CHAPTER IX

THE BOER FIGHTING OF 1848

SIR HARRY SMITH, whom Dr. Hall had known in the West Indies many years before, reached the Cape on the first day of December, 1847, and Graham's Town on the 17th of the month. Since his previous service at the Cape he had been Adjutant-General of the Army in India, and had gained great distinction by his victory at Aliwal over the Sikhs on the 28th of January, 1846, in the first Sikh War. He returned, therefore, to the Cape with an enhanced reputation. His policy differed materially from that of his predecessor, Sir Henry Pottinger, and his previous experience of the Kafirs stood him in good stead. Proceeding up to King William's Town, he released Sandilli and other Chiefs, on terms which required their good behaviour. The combination of civil and military authority in his hands strengthened his position. By Proclamation he extended the territory subordinate to the Cape Colony to the Orange River on the north, and eastward to the boundary constituted by the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers. When the Kafir Chiefs acknowledged him as their Chief, and made their submission, he gave the name of British Kafraria to the new territory thus acquired as a distinct Dependency of the Crown, not part of the Cape Colony, but as a reserve for the Kafirs. In this area a strong British force was stationed in commanding positions, under a Commandant and Chief Commissioner of British Kafraria. The new arrangements were explained to the Chiefs by Sir Harry

Smith on the 7th of January, 1848. The loyal Chiefs were rewarded, the war was brought to an end, and the military force reduced. He also paid a visit to Natal, and stopped the exodus of the Dutch Boers from that Province; and the visit which he paid to Bloemfontein (now in the Orange Free State), in January, 1848, kept things quiet for a time.

Meanwhile Dr. Hall kept his Departmental Chief in London informed of events in South Africa, as follows:

"*To Sir James McGrigor, Director-General of the Army Medical Department.*

"CAPE TOWN,
"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*April 25th*, 1848.

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

"I am favoured with your private note of the 5th of January.

"The disaffection which some evil-disposed persons attempted to create among some emigrant Boers at the other side of the Orange River appears to have been counteracted by Sir Harry's celebrated manifesto of the 29th of March, copy of which I forwarded to you when it was printed; but, for fear that it may have miscarried, as newspapers frequently do, I enclose another, as the document is so characteristic, both of Sir Harry and the people to whom it is addressed, that I think you would like to read it. He signed all the copies that were entered for circulation amongst the Boers. From some lines he was kind enough to show me when I waited on him the other morning, it is astonishing what effect this simple act has had on the minds of the Boers who had become so suspicious of the good faith of Government that they would not give credence to printed documents alone.

"Sir Harry's previous Proclamation and this manifesto have now been extensively circulated among the Boers by clergymen and others in whom they have con-

fidence, and they begin to understand that it will be to their advantage to live under British rule again, and become good and loyal subjects.

"Sir Harry has concentrated the troops on the frontier and on British Kafraria, as the Province of Adelaide is called, and several minor stations have been abolished, so that when our regimental staff is complete we shall be able to manage very well."

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*May 2nd*, 1848.

"I am happy to inform you that the melancholy scene to which your letter of the 9th of July alludes was merely one of the last acts of the long-protracted, enormously expensive, very unsatisfactory, and highly inglorious Kafir contests which Sir Harry Smith speedily put an end to on his arrival in the Colony, and had he been here at its commencement the chances are that it would not have continued three months, as he is a soldier in every sense of the word, and would not have allowed anyone to have a pecuniary interest in the continuance of hostilities, which, it is well known, certain individuals had who ought to have been above such jobbing."

"CAPE TOWN,
"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*July 20th*, 1848.

"Sir Harry Smith has judiciously issued an ordinance, legalizing all the irregular marriages that have taken place in the wilderness, and pointing out a simple and efficacious mode of entering into these contracts in future. He has given instructions to have the Boer farms surveyed and regular grants made out, which is not less important to them than the legalizing of their children, and the thinking and well-disposed farmers are grateful to him for these important acts, and I think the evil-disposed have now little chance of disturbing the tranquillity of the north-east frontier.

"On the eastern frontier the Kafirs are quite quiet.

Even the frontier Press cannot twist the few detached acts of theft of cattle which have taken place into a complaint, which is saying a great deal, as the Press in this country is at all times ready to seize on the most trifling thing to complain and argue about, as if the Home Government had some sinister object in view in everything that it did for the Colony, in place of consulting the welfare of the inhabitants. The troops, I am happy to tell you, are healthy. Some slight cases of purpura made their appearance in the 73rd Regiment, quartered in the Buffalo lines, but they have nearly all got well, and, as Sir Harry sent the *Dee* steamer down to Cape Town, they will soon be free from all tendency to the disease when they obtain an abundant supply of fresh vegetables, which they have been deprived of for the last two years and a half. Military guards have been established at all the posts on the frontier."

"*Friday, July 21st*, 1848.

"An express has just arrived from beyond the Orange River which has roused Sir Harry completely.

"The Boers, under a man of the name of Pretorius, have assembled in arms beyond the Modder River, and a party of them attempted to intercept and make prisoners Major Warden, Civil Commissioner, and a magistrate of the district of Wynberg, called Biddulph. The leader of the party, which consisted of five-and-twenty armed men, showed Major Warden a written order from Pretorius, directing him to make the Major a prisoner, and bring him to his camp, in order that he might see the number of men who were in arms, and how useless resistance on the Major's part would be. On the Major's telling the leader of the party that he had no intention of being taken prisoner, and that he and the party with him (an escort of twelve men of the Cape Corps) would resist to the utmost of their powers, the Boers allowed them to return to Bloemfontein without further molestation. Major Warden, in his despatch to the Governor, reports that Pretorius is

stated to have from 1,000 to 1,200 men; but, as it is difficult to collect a force of that nature in a thinly peopled district, and still more difficult to subsist and keep them together when they are so collected, I am of opinion that we shall find when we get up there that there has been a good deal of exaggeration in the matter.

"However, things have now come to that pass that something decisive must be done with Pretorius, and you will see by this day's Proclamation, which I enclose, that the Governor has proclaimed him a rebel, and offered a reward of £1,000 for his apprehension.

"Orders have also been sent off by express for a force consisting of two guns, two squadrons of the Cape Corps, six companies of the Infantry, and a small detachment of sappers and miners, to march to Wynberg at once. Sir Harry leaves this for that place on the 29th, and I am to accompany him. He expects to reach Colesberg on or about the 7th of August, but I apprehend the troops cannot all be assembled there before the 15th. The weather has been very wet and boisterous, and a rapid journey of the length of the one we are about to undertake, with all its discomforts, is anything but pleasant to look forward to. However, there is no help for it now. To Pretorius and party I fear it is likely to be a very serious business, as Sir Harry offered them the olive-branch of peace, which they have madly rejected, and he is not a man either to be frightened or trifled with. He has already given orders for the natives to be let loose on them, and they will soon be hemmed in between them and the regular troops. I suppose the news from Europe of the French Revolution has reached them, and encouraged them to try their strength with Government; and I dare say the departure of so many Regiments of late has emboldened them also to undertake the enterprise."

The Boers, led by Pretorius, had declared their opposition to the Proclamation issued by Sir Harry Smith, by which the territory between the Orange and

Vaal Rivers, known since 1854 as the Orange Free State, was brought under British sovereignty. Pretorius raised a force, and in July, 1848, established his authority at Bloemfontein, the British Resident, Major Warden, being obliged to quit. Sir Harry Smith hastened up to the front. He left Cape Town on the 29th of July for Colesberg, to suppress the rebellion—for it was nothing less—among the emigrant Dutch Boers at Bloemfontein. Dr. Hall accompanied the Governor, so that his account of the events of 1848 is interesting and valuable as that of an eye-witness of history. Sir Harry Smith had under him a mixed force of English troops and Cape Mounted Rifles. Before they met the Boers, Dr. Hall wrote, on the 25th of August, to Sir James McGrigor as follows :

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP ON THE ORANGE RIVER,
"NEAR BOTHA'S DRIFT,
"*August 25th*, 1848.

"On the 28th ult. I acquainted you that I was to accompany the Governor to Colesberg the following day, to join the force that was assembling there for the purpose of punishing an outbreak of some of the disaffected Boers on the other side of the Orange River, who had assembled in arms under a leader of the name of Pretorius, and who had expelled the magistrate from Wynberg, and made Major Warden, Civil Commissioner of the district and Commandant of Bloemfontein, capitulate and retire to this side of the Orange River.

"Sir Harry arrived at Colesberg, a distance of 600 miles from Cape Town, but owing to heavy falls of rain and snow the troops were impeded on their march up by the swollen state of the rivers in their route, and two companies of the 91st Regiment (R.B.) have not arrived yet.

"Sir Harry came to camp on the 21st inst., and the following day commenced passing the troops over the river by means of a small boat and an inflated india-rubber pontoon, which answers admirably for the pur-

pose. I think by the day after to-morrow the whole of the men, waggons, and stores will be on the other side of the river, and Sir Harry in a position to commence active operations against Mr. Pretorius, who has deceived him completely, and has deluded his countrymen with the most absurd reports, which none but the most ignorant and credulous of mankind could believe.

"The river is swollen by the melting snow in the mountains, and where the passage has been effected it is 240 yards wide and rapid in proportion, so that the operation has been one of great difficulty, and nothing but the energy and activity of a person like Sir Harry could have carried it through so speedily. Our raft-making efforts failed completely, and, had not Sir Harry fortunately brought out with him a newly invented pontoon, the force would have had to remain on this side of the river until it became fordable, which may not be for the next month.

"Pretorius's force was variously estimated from 600 to 1,400 men, and was encamped about ten miles on the other side of the river when the Governor first arrived at Colesberg, and he had a detachment of men placed at all the fords; but no sooner did they see a force collected, and preparations made for crossing the river, than they withdrew, and whether they will now have the nerve to face the troops which are advancing against them remains to be seen. If loud bluster could effect the purpose, they would be victorious, as they are very valiant in words; but many of them have been forced to take part in this rebellion against their inclination, and, should they come in collision with the troops and get roughly handled, they will in all probability immediately disperse, and there will be an end to the business."

On the 29th of August Sir Harry Smith and his force engaged with the rebellious emigrant Boers, and defeated them at Boom Platz. They were well provided with

artillery, and had entrenched themselves strongly, but were unable to withstand the directness and vigour of Smith's attack. Pretorius and his Boer following took to flight and crossed the Vaal River, where they remained and founded the Transvaal State. Sir Harry Smith advanced from Boom Platz to Bloemfontein, and restored the British Resident, who had been deposed. As the flight of some of the Boer farmers across the Vaal River had left vacant the land on which they had previously lived south of the Vaal River, this was occupied by families who moved up from Cape Colony, and thus the community was formed which in 1854 became the Orange Free State. During this campaign and the engagement at Boom Platz Dr. Hall was present with Sir Harry Smith. After the engagement at Boom Platz, Dr. Hall, while still at the front, reported to Sir James McGrigor as follows:

"BOOM PLATZ,
"NORTH OF THE ORANGE RIVER,
"*August 30th*, 1848.

"I wrote to you on the 25th inst. that Sir Harry Smith was busily engaged in passing troops and stores over the Orange River, for the purpose of putting down an insurrection amongst the emigrant Dutch Boers, who had assembled in arms under a leader of the name of Pretorius, who had figured more than once in a similar way.

"On the 27th Sir Harry, having completed his arrangements, commenced his march on Wenburg, and proceeded without opposition until yesterday afternoon, when he came upon the Boers about half a mile in advance of this, strongly posted in a little defile of the hills, and completely sheltered by rocks, stones, and uneven ground. On the troops nearing their position, the Boers opened a heavy and galling fire on them, and were not dislodged and finally driven through the pass under a couple of hours of hard fighting. But some riflemen and three guns having been brought to bear on them, they fled in

dismay, and dispersed to their homes all over the country.

"As might be expected from such an attack, some casualties have occurred, but not so many as there must have been had the Boers possessed a little more nerve, as their position was a remarkably strong one; but Mr. Pretorius, Sir Harry says, by not availing himself of another hill which would have flanked the advancing column, did not make the most of it.

"The list is seven Officers wounded—one mortally, who died in the course of the night, three severely, and three dangerously.

"Eight men were killed on the field, and one died a few hours after he was brought in here; thirty-nine were wounded, many of them very severely.

"We were able to dress them all on the field, and this house, which is about three-quarters of a mile from where the action commenced, I took possession of, and got all the men under cover before sunset. This morning I have had a hospital marquee pitched, to relieve the house, which is small, and offers better accommodation for the officers.

"I shall leave First-Class Staff-Surgeon Atkinson in charge, with Surgeon Power, of the R.B. (91st), to assist him, and in the course of the morning it is my intention to follow the General, who, I hear, is pushing on by forced marches. When I reach Wenburg I will have the honour of writing to you again; or should another encounter with the Boers take place, which I do not anticipate, I will let you know the result."

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP, WENBURG,
"NORTH OF THE GREAT ORANGE RIVER,
"*September 8th*, 1848.

"On the 30th ult. I wrote to you from a place called Boom Platz, where the troops, under the command of His Excellency Sir Harry Smith, had come in contact with the insurgent Dutch Boers, who were strongly

posted in ambuscade in a defile of the mountains, and had, after a sharp contest, routed and dispersed them with a loss on our side of 7 Officers wounded severely, 2 who had received contusions from spent balls, and were not returned in the list, and 8 men killed and 39 wounded. The loss the Boers sustained is not quite so certain, but it must have been considerable from their flight and terror. Sir Harry, from inquiries which he caused to be made at the time, ascertained that they had 49 killed and 150 wounded, but whether this is correct or not I cannot say. The Boers broke and fled to their distant homes, so that no means of making correct lists exist now, nor can they possibly tell themselves, beyond what occurred in each man's own immediate neighbourhood.

"Pretorius, the Commandant-General, his followers say, fled at the commencement of the fight, and never drew bridle until he had ridden as far as his horse could carry him. When he was seen last he was riding, with three followers, without his hat, which he had dropped in his terror.

"His Excellency pushed on some distance on the night of the battle, and marched again the following morning at two o'clock in pursuit of the enemy; but, when he found that their whole force had fled and dispersed by twos and threes in every direction, he halted the men at a mission-station, called Bethany, where I overtook him the following evening, having had the wounded well put up and taken care of at Boom Platz, where I left Dr. Atkinson and Mr. Power to look after them; and the last report which I had from Dr. Atkinson was a favourable one; but some of the wounds, I am sorry to say, are very dangerous ones, and I expect to hear of the death of five or six.

"When we were at Bethany, two young lads were brought before the Governor, who had been in the fight on the previous day, and the only punishment Sir Harry inflicted on them, beyond that of confiscating their arms,

was to call a tall grenadier to pull their noses and kick them out of camp ; but in the course of the following day two desperate ruffians were taken—one of them a deserter from H.M. 45th Regiment, who acknowledged before his death that there was no crime he had not committed in the course of his life. These men Sir Harry directed to be marched to Bloemfontein with the troops, and when they arrived there they were tried by a general court-martial, which sentenced them to be shot ; and the sentence was carried into effect at daylight on the 4th inst., as the troops were marching off for this place. This act of justice spread like lightning all over the country, and struck much greater terror into the minds of those who had been engaged in the rebellion than the fight at Boom Platz itself, though that seems to have frightened some of them sufficiently to prevent them from joining in any similar business in future.

" The Governor arrived there yesterday, and made a proclamation to a considerable number of Boers, who had remained either faithful or doubtful subjects during the Pretorian rule, which seemed to give them great satisfaction. He pardoned one of Pretorius's Commandants of the name of Paul Bester before the assembled crowd, which had a good effect, as Bester is a respectable man, and had been in a measure compelled to join Pretorius. To-day numbers are coming in to deliver up their arms and take the oath of allegiance, and I look on the whole affair as at an end ; and I think it rather a good thing that it has taken place, as it shows these swaggering fellows, with their long elephant guns, how easily troops can be brought against them, and how very little they can effect, even under the most favourable circumstances, against regular troops. They have got a story amongst them that all the men of our Regiment were killed but one man, and that that man continued to advance against them. So there is no use, they say, in fighting against such desperate fellows. The story arose from the following circumstance : Ensign Crampton, of the

91st Regiment, and his own servant were a little in advance of a small party that was advancing to dislodge some Boers from the top of a hill which they occupied, when Mr. Crampton fell, severely wounded. His servant stopped to look at him, and, I suppose, finding that he was not mortally hurt, advanced steadily to execute the orders which he had received; and the Boers, seeing other men advancing, abandoned their post, which was a very strong one. Several instances occurred in the course of the day which tell well for the Boers, and show that they are not ferocious and bloodthirsty.

"Lieutenant Salis, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, had his horse shot under him, and was severely wounded himself, and as he lay entangled with his horse, he was near enough to hear one of the Boers say: 'Shoot the Englishman dead!' But he called out in Dutch: 'Nay, nay! I have a wife and too many children for that!' One of them immediately said, 'Are you wounded?' and on his telling him that he was, the party turned their fire in a different direction. When the Commission for levying fines in the district of Wenburg was sitting, a man who had been summoned as one of Pretorius's people appeared before it, and when he was told the amount he would be required to pay—some 15s. or so—he pleaded the circumstance of his having saved an Officer's life in mitigation. The Commission, on inquiry, finding his story to correspond so exactly with Lieutenant Salis's report, very properly not only remitted his fine, but, as he was a poor man, made him a present of 30s. Circumstances like these, trifling as they are, are sufficient to divest a war like this of much of its ferocity, and it is fortunate the example which Sir Harry felt it necessary to make fell on two subjects so deserving of death. It has produced a wonderful sensation all over the country, and I think he will not have occasion to shed any more blood. If he were to get hold of the ringleaders, he would banish them, and he has given orders to confiscate their property. He is disarming all those

that have been concerned in the rebellion, and he has appointed Commissioners in the different districts to levy fines on them to pay the expenses of the war, which will be punishment enough for them.

" His own escape on the 9th was almost miraculous, as he wore a dress the Boers all knew, and many of them, we have now ascertained, directed their fire at him, when, in the press of the fight, he was left alone. But that Providence which has protected him in greater danger continued to watch over him, and he remained unharmed.

" *9th.*—The measures which he has adopted have given satisfaction to a large assembly of Boers and natives which met here to-day, and there is every prospect of things settling down now with peace and quietness, as Pretorius, Bester says, has no influence beyond his own family and connections, and a few desperate fellows, who have nothing at stake."

In his despatch of the 30th of August, issued to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, describing the affair of Boom Platz on the 29th August, Sir Harry Smith wrote from his camp at Bethany, two marches from Bloemfontein, thus: " Dr. Hall, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, fortunately came up from Cape Town with me—for I did not imagine I should have such occasion for his services—and the wounded, under his able care, have been provided for as I could desire." Also, at the termination of the war against the emigrant Boers, Sir Harry Smith issued the following General Orders from Bloemfontein, on the 15th of September, 1848:

" His Excellency has served with many troops, but in no campaign has he been associated with more energetic Officers and soldiers than those composing these detachments.

" The thanks of the country are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, Major Beckwith, who succeeded the former

Officer in command after his severe wound, and to every Officer and soldier, and their merits shall be laid before His Grace the Duke of Wellington, in the hope of attracting the attention of Her Majesty.

"This record of meritorious service attaches to Dr. Hall, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, and to the Medical Officers generally, whose care of the wounded could not be exceeded."

Sir Harry Smith and Dr. Hall returned *viâ* Kafraria to Cape Town on the 21st of October, 1848, and on the same day Dr. Hall wrote to his Departmental Chief, Sir James McGrigor, the following letter:

"CAPE TOWN,
"*October* 21*st*, 1848.

"Your letter of the 31st of July I received on my return here to-day from the frontier, and I am sure you will be glad to hear that peace has been, I hope, permanently established in the districts to the north of the Great Orange River, and that everything remains tranquil in British Kafraria.

"The emigrant Boers required the lesson they have received from Sir Harry to check their overweening vanity, and to convince them that success over organized British soldiers is not quite so easy as they have chosen to imagine ever since the affair in Natal in 1842, when, they say, they had the advantage. On the present occasion their discomfiture has been most complete, and what adds to their vexation and annoyance is to have to pay for the expenses of the war. Sir Harry declares he will make them pay every shilling of it, and, from the amount of fines which have been already collected and paid into the military chest, I have no doubt he will accomplish his object.

"The Kafirs had heard that Sir Harry was killed, and, when he came among them, their unfeigned delight at seeing him again is a convincing proof of their affection

for him. Kreli, the paramount Chief, did not arrive in time to see Sir Harry in King William's Town, although the Governor delayed his departure for three hours for that purpose; but when he came and found that Sir Harry had set out, he rode full gallop after him, and overtook him on the road.

"The meeting was a very interesting one, and is likely to be attended with the happiest results, as there can be no doubt of the young Chief's admiration of the Jukosé Jukulu, as he constantly called the Governor.

"Sir Harry having conquered the Amabooloos, as the Kafirs term the Boers, has raised him still higher in their estimation, for the Kafirs have still a vague dread of the Boers from a recollection of their severity. In former times, when the Dutch commandos used to be made into Kafirland, the Boer was armed with a long gun, and the Kafir merely with an assegai, which gave the former a decided advantage over the naked savage, and war was carried on with comparatively little risk to the Boer. Now, however, that the Kafir is armed with a gun as well as the Boer, the Boer treats him with more respect, and keeps as far as he can from him so as to be out of harm's way.

"You will notice by my official letter of the 16th inst. that I availed myself of the Governor's presence in Graham's Town to obtain leave of absence for Dr. Ross Jameson to return to England on urgent private affairs, as the troops, I am glad to be able to say, are all healthy and his services can be dispensed with at present without either expense or inconvenience to the public service.

"Dr. Jameson is a well-informed man, and I have had every reason to be satisfied with him ever since he has been in this command, as I have upon all occasions found him attentive to his duty.

"Of Dr. McGrigor I have heard little or nothing of late, and as the Port Elizabeth affair was disposed of at the time by His Excellency, it could not be renewed, and even

if it were, there would be no evidence to convict him before a court-martial. I will, however, look after him, and however unpleasant it might be to my own feelings, I would not hesitate in adopting the measures you recommend should circumstances require them; but I hope, for the honour and credit of the Department, there will be no occasion to resort to them, though it must be owned the Doctor is not likely ever to become an ornament to the Department. Here he has got into disrepute, and prejudice goes a long way with the world. It is like the cry of 'mad dog'; everyone is immediately up in arms, and ready to take the most uncharitable view of a person so circumstanced.

"I am glad to hear that the institutions of the Department are prospering. It is mainly owing to your own unwearied exertions, Sir James, that they have been brought to such a state of perfection, and people yet unborn will bless you for what you have done for the Department. I am delighted to find that you have succeeded at last in removing the museum from Chatham to London, where its value will be appreciated by the scientific world, and where the Officers of the Department will have a better opportunity of viewing the result of their own labours than they could do while it remained at Chatham. I have circulated a list for subscriptions to forward the good cause, and hope soon to be able to remit the proceeds to you."

Dr. Hall had not been long at Cape Town before he was married, on the 31st of October, 1848, at the Rondebosch Church to Mrs. Lucy Campbell Sutherland, widow, he being at that date nearly fifty-three and she thirty years of age. Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of the Colony, was present on the occasion, and attested the Register.

In the course of 1848 Dr. Hall submitted his report of the action taken during the year with the Kafir Chiefs. It is a more comprehensive account than he was wont to give in his letters, and may be quoted here:

LADY HALL.

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"At the commencement of the present year, 1848, a column of 1,800 men, composed partly of Regular and partly of Irregular troops, was employed in the field along the line of the Buffalo River, from the sea to King William's Town, acting against the Kafir Chief Pato, who had not made his submission to Government.

"This force contained a Burgher Levy, which had been called out by His Excellency the Governor from the neighbouring districts for one month's service, and was ill-calculated, from its constitution, for prolonged military operations. The burghers turned out with reluctance, were tardy in arriving at the place of rendezvous, and availed themselves of the first opportunity of deserting their posts, and returning home without giving the General the least intimation of their intentions. So that one morning, much to his surprise and disgust, he found a large portion of their camp deserted, by which means a forward movement to the Kei was arrested; but as the burghers argued that they had only been called out for one month, and it would take them six or eight days to reach their homes again, it was useless to contend with them, as the letter of the law was in their favour, although it was well known that the Governor's intention was that they should serve one month in the field; but the patriotic men stuck to the wording of the Proclamation, which stated that on no account should they be kept away from their families for more than a month, and out of this they took a week to assemble, and about the same time to disperse.

"On the failure of calling out the Burgher Levies without martial law, active field operations were suspended until a body of Hottentots could be enlisted for a period of six months, receiving a bounty of £2 each, and a promise of a grant of land at the termination of their service; as, for some military reason that I could never understand, it was thought impossible to undertake or carry on war against the Kafirs without the aid of these people, and the General contented himself for the time

with merely establishing a line of military posts from the mouth of the Buffalo River to King William's Town. He then proceeded to Forts Hare and Beaufort; and, when encamped at Black Drift, an urgent demand was made by Captain Warden, the Commandant and Civil Commissioner at Bloemfontein, for an additional force to be sent to his aid, to enable him to overawe the emigrant Dutch Boers in the neighbourhood, who were threatening a friendly tribe of bastards called the Griquas. On this demand a detachment of the 7th Dragoon Guards, consisting of one Officer and thirty men, was despatched to his assistance; but, as no collision took place, people suspected that the urgency of the call had not been quite so great as the Commissioner supposed.

"At a subsequent period Captain Warden called out some Boers, and made an unsatisfactory patrol on his own authority, which gave great offence to His Excellency the Governor, and, had Sir Henry Pottinger remained, he would in all probability have prevented the recurrence of any similar irregularity.

"About the period of Sir Henry's handing over the colony to his successor, Sir Harry Smith, the Captain's alarm had been renewed, and a fresh demand for 500 men for six months was made, as without a force of that nature, in his opinion, the peace of the country could not be preserved. Sir Harry Smith, however, was not a man to be frightened by shadows or alarmed by a little gasconade on the part of the Boers, and, in place of ordering up an additional force of 500 men, he directed the detachment of the 7th Dragoon Guards to be withdrawn from Bloemfontein when he visited that post in January last, and since then no necessity has been found for their services, although at one time a Dutch Boer of the name of Pretorius was said to be on the eve of waging war against the Government. However, Sir Harry, by just and judicious measures, and a strong and well-adapted manifesto, has so conciliated the well-disposed, and intimidated the turbulent and disaffected, that all oppo-

sition to the measures of Government has been abandoned. Pretorius, deserted by his followers, has fled beyond the River Vaal, and the whole districts of Albert, Wenburg, and Caledon are now settling down in peace and quietness, and in place of warlike preparations we now hear of nothing but the building of churches, establishment of schools, and the regular administration of justice by magistrates appointed by the Governor.

" In Natal, owing to the exhortations of the turbulent demagogue Pretorius, a number of farmers left the district, and retired with their families and cattle beyond the Drakenberg Mountains. He was even suspected of having endeavoured to incite Panda, the Chief of the Zooloo Kafirs, to invade the Colony; but the wily savage had too much cunning to be led into the trap by a man who, he knew, hated him, and Sir Harry Smith's timely arrival in Natal and judicious message to Panda fixed that Chief's wavering opinions, and made him a firm ally of the Colony. To guard, however, against any surprise, and to be able to obtain the earliest and best information of any disturbance on the Zooloo frontier, a military station has been established on the Bushman's River, which is the only military change that has taken place in the distribution of the force at Natal during the year.

" The Province has now become tranquil, and many of the substantial Dutch farmers, who had been induced to quit it by Pretorius's persuasion, are now finding their way back again and re-occupying their farms.

" On the eastern frontier of the Colony the Gaika Kafirs, many of whom, with their Chief Sandilli, had been registered as British subjects, and were supposed to have given up their arms, and to be at peace with the Colony, became restless and insolent. Many thefts were committed, and on some occasions the thieves were found to have the Civil Commissioner's Registration Ticket in their possession, which showed the value the Kafirs attached to it, or the uses at all events to which they had cunning enough to turn it, for it was a protection to them while within the

Colonial borders, and it allowed them to lurk about until a favourable opportunity presented itself of committing a theft, and driving their spoil into Kafirland. In this way a theft of thirteen goats had been made from some native inhabitants by a man of Sandilli's tribe. The matter was taken up energetically by the Rev. Mr. Calderwood, the Civil Commissioner at Fort Hare, who demanded that not only the stolen property should be restored, but that the thief should be delivered up to be dealt with according to law. Sandilli directed the goats to be delivered up, and a cow to be sent as compensation to the injured party, but he stated that the thief could not be discovered. Twelve of the goats, I believe, were restored, but the cow that had been sent as a fine was never delivered, and Mr. Calderwood discovered by some means that Sandilli, in place of not being able to discover the thief, had eaten him up, as the saying is—*i.e.*, he had confiscated the delinquent's property to his own use. This act of contumacy, and disregard of the reverend gentleman's orders, excited his ire, and he recommended that strong and summary measures should be adopted towards Sandilli, and a strong patrol of police and regular troops was despatched to Sandilli's kraal to seize either his person or his property. The party, consisting of 400 men—composed as follows : 7th Dragoon Guards, 49 ; Rifle Brigade (45th), 179 ; Cape Mounted Rifles, 30 ; 74 of the Kafir Police ; and 68 Fingos—left their quarters at Fort Hare on the afternoon of the 15th of June, intending by a night march to surprise Sandilli in his kraal, and bring him before the Civil Commissioner. Everything promised success. The party advanced under the cover of the night, and arrived at the kraal just at daybreak, when, alarm being given to the inmates, Sandilli fled into the bush and escaped ; and the patrol, in obedience to their orders, seized on the cattle they found there, amounting to thirty-nine head, and commenced their return to their quarters. Sandilli was seen by part of the troops when making his escape, and could easily have been shot had

such been their instructions ; but their orders were merely to seize his person or his property, in the event of his making his escape ; and the Officer in command had no wish to resort to extreme measures. The party had no sooner commenced its retreat than the Kafirs were observed to be collecting in great numbers, armed, and with an evident intention of either rescuing the cattle or resenting the insult that had been so unnecessarily offered to their paramount Chief ; they began to line the jungle, commanding a ford in the Keiskamma River that they expected the party would take, and soon opened a fire of musketry on them from every assailable point.

" The military were extricated from this perilous position by the local knowledge of Captain Donovan of the Cape Mounted Rifles, who pointed out to the Commanding Officer of the party another ford lower down the river, and to that they directed their march, and with some difficulty effected a passage, as the savages, well armed with muskets, rushed to the place in great numbers, and assailed them with great fury. The fire of the Kafirs was very heavy, but ill-directed, as only one man of the 45th was killed and one of the 7th Dragoon Guards and two of the Rifle Brigade (45th) were wounded. Lieutenant Russell, of the Kafir Police, was shot through the lungs, and died the following day, and two of the Kafir Police were wounded. So fierce and determined was the attack of the Kafirs that it was as much as the troops could do to keep them off, and guard their captured cattle, which they at length effected, and drove them into Fort Hare, although the Kafirs hung on their flanks, and, taking advantage of the wooded nature of the country they were traversing, annoyed them to within a short distance of their quarters.

" This affair created a great sensation on the frontier, and, as is not unusual in this country, much misrepresentation appeared in the local papers on the subject. It was, however, too important to be passed over in silence by the authorities, as it clearly showed that Sandilli's people,

in place of being disarmed, as had been supposed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, were not only possessed of muskets, but abundantly supplied with ammunition, and disposed to set the authority of Government at defiance.

"Sandilli himself pretended to be angry at what had taken place, and said it had been done without his knowledge; but no one was deceived by so shallow an artifice, and he was soon given to understand that very serious notice would be taken of the affair by the Governor. At first he could not be made to comprehend that his excuses would not be taken, and he did not seem well to understand the position he stood in with regard to the British Government, which was no longer disposed to make treaties with Chieftains of his stamp, as had hitherto been the case, to meet the views and wishes of certain missionary societies, and the religiously-disposed people.

"On the contrary, Sir Henry Pottinger was determined to make the supremacy of British power both felt and respected by the Kafirs, and, as a preliminary step, 200 stand of arms were demanded to be given up by Sandilli and his tribe, who had acknowledged the Queen's supremacy and who had been registered as British subjects. On their refusing to comply, Sandilli was proclaimed a rebel, and a force was ordered to take the field to punish him and his tribe. This force, which consisted of 2,500 men, took the field in September, and soon overran and laid waste Sandilli's country, and took him prisoner. It afterwards advanced to the great Kei River, to punish Pato and Kreli, and after capturing a number of their cattle and hunting them nearly to death, they were fain to make their submission and seek peace with the Colony, which Sir Harry Smith granted to them on perhaps more favourable terms than Sir Henry Pottinger would have done.

"I think Sir Harry Smith's views are sound and judicious, and likely from their mildness and equity to retain the Kafirs in subjection longer than harsh measures would have done. The Kafirs have great respect for him

personally, and the most unbounded confidence in his justice, and so long as he remains in the country I think they will continue quiet.

" (NOTE.—How mistaken I was in all this was made manifest by the Kafir War of 1851.—J. HALL.)

" The troops underwent much fatigue and exposure, but they were well fed, and the Kafirs offered so little resistance that the campaign was nearly a bloodless one. I have, however, entered so fully into the details of these military operations in my quarterly reports that it is unnecessary to repeat what I have there stated."

CHAPTER X

LIFE AT THE CAPE

1848—1849

DURING the remainder of 1848 and in 1849 Dr. Hall was at Cape Town, engaged in the performance of the medical duties attached to his appointment, and doubtless happy in his new married life. There is a letter of the 17th of February, 1849, from him to Sir James McGrigor, which may find a place here:

"CAPE TOWN,
"*February 17th*, 1849.

"I am favoured with your private letter of the 16th of November last, and you will observe by the accompanying remittance of £90 13s., on account of the Building Fund of the Library and Museum, that the Medical Officers in this command are neither unmindful of your wishes nor indifferent to the importance of the measures you have in contemplation.

"With the exception of Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Nicholson, every Officer has contributed either eight days' pay or a donation of money, and the whole sum subscribed at the Cape of Good Hope amounts to £116 18s.

"I am still in hopes Dr. Nicholson will change his mind and subscribe when he finds that he is the only Officer who has not done so, but I do not like to urge him on the subject, after the perusal of a letter which he wrote to Dr. Atkinson when the subscription list was sent to him, as all such things ought, in my opinion, to be voluntary offerings.

"I think, from the number of Officers who have already become subscribers, that the ultimate success of the project is almost secure; and I feel quite satisfied the Department at large will be grateful to you, and proud of the establishment when you have accomplished it for them.

"I am glad to hear that cholera has been confined to one solitary case in my old Regiment, the 33rd, and it is gratifying to find that the Surgeons' efforts were successful, which is not always the case at the commencement of an epidemic like that of cholera, in the treatment of which opinion is so much divided, and the remedies employed for its cure are so very dissimilar. When I was quartered at Warrington with the 33rd, in 1834, cholera in a fatal form broke out at Bankside, a small suburb of that town. I received instructions from you to watch and report its progress, and I recollect being forcibly struck with the diversity of treatment adopted by the different medical gentlemen who had charge of the sick. Amongst them was one who confined himself almost entirely to a plentiful supply of cold drink, chiefly milk and water, and at whose practice his neighbours turned up their noses; but, on comparing the results of his cases with those of the other medical gentlemen, who prescribed more active remedies, the balance of success was rather in his favour.

"The troops here, I am happy to inform you, are healthy, and everything is going on favourably and smoothly in the colony.

"We are collecting the invalids. As Surgeon Power's health has been reported by Staff-Surgeon Dr. Atkinson to be very infirm, I have recommended him to be sent home in charge of them, in place of submitting his case to the consideration of a Medical Board."

In the following letters of the 11th and 28th of May to Sir James McGrigor, and of the 13th of May to Lord Grey, he wrote chiefly of Sir Harry Smith's illness, but referred also to another matter which was arousing much

excitement, if not consternation, in Cape Colony. There was a strong ebullition of feeling at Cape Town in consequence of the proposal of the Government in England to land convicts there—in fact, to make it a penal settlement. This proposal the colonists successfully withstood. Apart from his passing allusions, it does not appear that Dr. Hall was officially or privately concerned with the matter.

"CAPE TOWN,
"*May 11th*, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

"I am favoured with your private letter of the 17th of February, and beg you and Lady McGrigor will accept the united thanks of Mrs. Hall and myself for your kind message. I have every reason, I can assure you, Sir James, to be well satisfied with the amiable partner I have chosen, and the kind notice of my friends adds much to my gratification and happiness.

"Sir Harry and Lady Smith have been most kind and attentive to Mrs. Hall, and we are residing with them at present in Government House. I don't think I mentioned before the unpleasant position Mrs. Hall would have been placed in on her arrival in this country had it not been for the kindness of Lady Smith, who received her on her landing, and made her reside with her at Westbrook, the Governor's country residence, during my absence with Sir Harry on the expedition to the north of the great Orange River against the insurgent Dutch Boers; and it was from Westbrook we were married, Sir Harry giving the bride away, and inviting the wedding party to breakfast.

"I am sorry to inform you that Sir Harry has been confined to his bed with a large carbuncle at the back of his neck and head for the last three weeks, and I have been in the greatest alarm and anxiety about him; but, thank God, his disease has taken a favourable change within the last three days, and there is now every prospect of a favourable issue to his most painful and perilous complaint.

"The disease, though it was early and freely opened,

and every constitutional remedy that I could think of adopted, spread extensively, and before its progress could be arrested it had involved all the parts between the tuberosity of the armpit and the sixth curved vertebra, and reached nearly from ear to ear. At present the slough has separated from the left side and upper part, and a line of separation is forming at the lower margin and on the right side, so that in a few days, I hope, we shall only have a clean sore to contend with; but even a clean sore of that extent is a formidable affair for a person at Sir Harry's time of life, whose constitution has suffered so much from service, disease, and climate. Had not Sir Harry been a man of the most abstemious habits, this disease, I am satisfied, would have proved fatal; and even now he will require much care, nursing, and watching. I have been living in the house with him for the last fortnight, and have afforded him all the aid that friendship and my professional experience could suggest, and I shall be most happy to see him restored to health again, for I consider his life of the greatest consequence to the interests of his country, not only in this Colony, where his name alone is a tower of strength, but in other places, where perhaps his services may be required.

"The colonists are very much annoyed at Lord Grey's sending convicts out to the Cape, and I have no doubt strong remonstrances will be made against the measure, which is one of a very questionable nature, it must be owned.

"Mrs. Hall unites with me in kind remembrance to Lady McGrigor and yourself."

"*To the Right Honourable the Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

"CAPE TOWN,
"*May 13th*, 1849.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to report for your lordship's information that His Excellency Sir Harry Smith has been very seriously unwell, and confined to his bed since the

20th of April with a severe and most painful attack of inflammation at the back of his head and neck, terminating in what is called 'carbuncle'; and, as it is possible rumours of his illness may have reached you, he has requested me to furnish you with a short statement of his case.

"The sore has now assumed a healthy appearance, his appetite and strength are improving daily, and, with the blessing of God, there is every prospect of his speedy recovery from this most painful and, in the situation, most perilous complaint.

"I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

"JOHN HALL, M.D.,

"*Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals.*"

"*To Sir James McGrigor.*

"CAPE TOWN,
"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*May 28th*, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

"In my letter of the 11th inst. I mentioned to you the very serious illness that Sir Harry Smith was labouring under, and I am sure you will be glad to hear that since that date his recovery, though slow, has been progressive, and I think I may now, as far as human foresight extends, pronounce his recovery certain.

"He is much reduced, and as yet able to do nothing more than walk about his dressing-room and the balcony in front of it, but he sleeps tolerably well, and his appetite is moderate, and, if he could only be persuaded to abstain from business, his recovery would in all probability be accelerated; but it is difficult to make him comprehend that prolonged mental application will prostrate his strength as much as, or even more than, bodily exertion, and it is quite impossible to restrain him, now that he feels himself equal to the task, from clearing off the arrear of business that has accumulated during his illness; and in this way he has brought on two or three ephemeral attacks of fever, which have, fortunately, passed off

without materially interfering with the healing process going on in the sore.

"Great excitement has been created in the Colony by Lord Grey's measure of sending convict labourers out to this country from Bermuda, and one of the first subjects that occupied Sir Harry's attention on his recovery was this question; and he not only had to receive and reply to the different addresses of public meetings that were presented to him, but to dictate a long despatch to the Colonial Minister, transmitting them home.

"This subject, I know, is one of great anxiety to Sir Harry, as it involves a principle peculiarly hazardous to a community constituted as that of the Cape is, and one that he had reason to believe would not be attempted to be carried out without the consent of the colonists themselves, to whom the consideration of the question had been referred by Lord Grey; and why his Lordship has now decided on resorting to the measure, in opposition to their deliberately and energetically-expressed dissent, no one here can comprehend.

"The troops, I am happy to inform you, are all healthy, and I hope soon to be able to transmit the Annual Returns and Reports, which are delayed for want of those of the 1st battalion of the 45th, from Natal; but, as Surgeon Menzies is both a correct and an attentive Officer, I have no doubt I shall receive them by the very first vessel that arrives from that place.

"With kind remembrances to Lady McGrigor, in which Mrs. Hall unites."

Sir Harry Smith, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, wrote on behalf of Dr. Hall to Sir James McGrigor, Director-General of the Army Medical Department, as follows:

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
"CAPE TOWN,
"*May 24th*, 1849.

"I knew Dr. Hall some years ago in Jamaica, with the 33rd Regiment, when he had the reputation of being a

most able and attentive Officer. On my arrival in this command, I find him the Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, and, on my inspection, never did I observe any medical or surgical arrangements better or more ably carried out than those under his auspices.

"On my recent expedition beyond the first Orange River, most fortunately did he accompany me; for at one affair of Boom Platz we had three times the number of casualties I had anticipated, and had directed him to provide for. This difficulty, however, he overcame, much to my satisfaction, and for the benefit of the wounded and for the service generally, and he has displayed to me every quality of the able military Officer, and the energetic resources within himself which he could command.

"We have travelled together some 2,500 miles, during which daily observations enabled me to perceive that he is a man of highly-cultivated and well-regulated mind. As head of the Medical Department, great is the worth of this distinguished Medical Officer, as one well calculated to discharge the duties, with advantage to Her Majesty's Service, of whatever post of importance he may hereafter be selected to fill."

Dr. Hall had occasion to write further, on the 1st of June, to Sir James McGrigor about Sir Harry Smith's health, which had given cause for some anxiety, as follows:

"CAPE TOWN,
"*June 1st*, 1849.

"It is an old and trite saying that there is nothing new under the sun, and nothing certain in human affairs.

"When I wrote to you, on the 28th of May, about Sir Harry Smith, I was so confident of his improved state, and so certain I should in a few days have the pleasing duty of reporting his perfect recovery to you, that I was quite unprepared for the disappointment which awaited me on my evening visit to him on that day.

"We had had cold, wet weather for the two or three

previous days, and by some accident Sir Harry had been exposed to its influence, and had caught a slight cold, which did not annoy him much, or attract the attention of those about him; but in the course of the afternoon of the 29th he felt so chilly and unwell that he was compelled to go to bed, and when I saw him he was labouring under smart fever, attended with nausea, weight in the right hypochondrium, and severe headache, confined to the right side of the head. His respiration was hurried, cough dry and short, and he complained of a sense of soreness and constriction in the cardiac region; but no irregularity could be detected in the heart's action, and the respiration murmur was audible over the whole lung.

"By the use of appropriate remedies, his fever and all the more urgent symptoms have subsided, but his pulse continues quickened, his cough is dry and short, and his respiration sensibly quickened by the slightest exertion.

"These symptoms may, and I sincerely hope they will, prove of little importance, but, having written to you so confidently about Sir Harry only three days ago, I think it right to mention them, as well as his present increased indisposition.

"The sore at the back of his neck continues to look healthy, and is skinning over very fast."

And again, on the 3rd of July:

"CAPE TOWN,
"*July 3rd*, 1849.

"On the 1st of June I wrote to you to tell you of the complication of Sir Harry Smith's case, in consequence of his having taken cold and been attacked with severe chest symptoms. These symptoms gradually subsided, and were followed by a species of quotidian ague, which continued to annoy him for eight or ten days, and then disappeared under the use of quinine.

"Sir Harry is now, I am happy to say, quite free from complaint, and gradually gaining strength; his appetite

is tolerably good, he sleeps well, and is able to take exercise daily in the open air when the weather permits. But he is much reduced by his severe and protracted illness, as I was only able to take leave of him three days ago, and it will be some time before he regains his usual health and strength.

" This vexatious question of making the Cape of Good Hope a penal settlement has created a strong and angry display of popular feeling amongst the inhabitants, and given Sir Harry a good deal of anxiety and trouble, which was unlucky in his present state of health ; but I hope steps will be taken by Lord Grey to cancel the obnoxious measure, when he finds how strenuously the people of this country are opposed to it—and, it must be owned, with some show of reason, for, of all the Colonies under the Crown, the Cape of Good Hope is perhaps the worst adapted for a penal settlement, on account of its thin and scattered population, and the restless and savage nature of the bordering tribes of Kafirs, who might be stirred up to mischief by able and wicked men getting amongst them, and inciting them to evil.

" The troops, I have much satisfaction in acquainting you, are all healthy, and I hope in a day or two to be able to transmit the Annual Returns and Reports, which are delayed now solely for want of the Sanitary Report of the R. Sappers and Miners, which I expect daily from the frontier."

On the 8th of August Dr. Hall published the following statement on a Departmental matter, in which he had taken no little interest :

" Dr. Hall has much pleasure in communicating the following extracts of a letter received from Sir James McGrigor, Bart., acknowledging the receipt of the subscriptions and donations from the Cape in aid of the Building Fund for the Library and Museum of the Medical Department, which, he doubts not, will be as

gratifying to every Officer concerned in it as it has been to him :

" ' I have to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of your letter of the 17th of February. The exertions of the Medical Officers at the Cape in favour of the Building Fund for a house in the Metropolis where our valuable Library and Museum can be deposited, and where brother-Officers can meet on coming to London, deserve my very warmest acknowledgments, and I may add the gratitude of the Department at large.

" ' There can now be no doubt of our being ultimately successful in obtaining a building for the Department in the Metropolis.'

" The gentlemen who contributed to the Building Fund will be kind enough to affix their names, when they have read this, that Dr. Hall may know that each individual has been made acquainted with the Director-General's sentiments."

And on the same day Dr. Hall wrote to Sir James McGrigor concerning the convict question, by which the Colony was violently excited :

" So uncertain is our communication with England at this season of the year that your private letters of the 18th of April, 2nd, 7th, and 23rd of May, have only just reached me ; and as a vessel is advertised, and I hope will sail for England the day after to-morrow, I am anxious to acknowledge their receipt, and to assure you, if such assurance be necessary, that the execution of your wishes will at all times afford me pleasure ; and I am happy to find that our contribution to the Building Fund of the Library and Museum has merited so kind an expression of your approbation, and I am quite satisfied your notice of the subject will gratify the Officers of the Department here, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to them ; for I know they all look forward with anxiety to the realization of your wishes on the subject, as they, in common with all Officers

on foreign service, know what a comfort and gratification such an establishment in London will be to them on their return home.

"The whole community here is in a state of violent agitation about the convict question, and an Association, termed the 'Anti-Convict Association,' has sprung into existence, which is likely to embarrass the local government very much, as it has already caused all the non-official members of the Legislative Council but one to resign their seats; and three gentlemen who were selected by His Excellency to fill up the Board were so maltreated by the mob in coming out of Council the first day it sat, and their property so much damaged, that they were compelled to resign the honour intended them by the Governor, and vacate their seats the following day. In fact, like all mob-rule, violence and intimidation are the means employed by the association for carrying out their plans; but the lawyers here say it is not illegal, and God only knows where it will end if allowed to proceed much longer unchecked."

The excitement in the Colony about the convict question, to which he had previously alluded, was the subject of further report in his letter to Sir James McGrigor on the 19th of October:—

"In my last letter I mentioned to you that the whole community here was in a state of great excitement, occasioned by Lord Grey's order to convert the Cape Colony into a penal settlement, and that an Association had been formed, called the 'Anti-Convict Association,' which had pledged itself to prevent the execution of this order by every means within its power; and it had commenced its labours, as I stated to you, by compelling the non-official members of the Legislative Council to resign their seats, and by violence and intimidation preventing other gentlemen from replacing them at the Council Board.

"Sir Harry was recommended by his legal advisers

not to interfere with this first manifesto of popular opinion, but to allow things to take their course, under the impression that in a peaceable community this effervescence of public feeling would soon subside, and that good sense and the love of social order would resume their sway. But in place of subsiding, this immunity only tended to embolden the leading demagogues to indulge in still more seditious and inflammatory harangues to the multitudes, and it ended by their forming a widespread and well-organized combination to starve the Army, Navy, and Civil Servants of the Government, and it was not for want of any exertion or inclination on their part that this monstrous and diabolical scheme was not carried out, on the arrival of the *Neptune* in Simon's Bay, with 282 convicts on board.

" So far as the Army is concerned, measures were then taken by the Commissariat to prevent inconvenience, and the men have benefited by the change. The Army had ample supplies in store, and laughed at the Association; but the prisoners in gaol, the sick in the civil hospital, and some of the civil servants of Government, suffered temporary inconvenience, which was obviated by the Governor's issuing a public notice that all those who could not obtain supplies from their regular tradespeople, on account of their connection with Government, would be supplied with bread and meat from shops which would be opened by Government for the sale of these articles.

" The immediate effect of this closing of the shops and suspension of trade was to throw numbers of the lower orders out of employment, who, in place of swelling the shout of the anti-convict meetings, soon began to clamour for bread and work; and when they saw that they had been made mere tools for the benefit of others, they, in their blind fury, treated a couple of the leading members of the Association to a species of mob-rule, which would have soon terminated in anarchy and confusion had not the Governor suppressed all illegal assemblages of the

people by Proclamation, and directed the Municipality to swear in a certain number of special constables to preserve the peace of the city. I send you a paper containing the Proclamation, and a General Order to the troops which was issued at the same time, and which, you will see, is characteristic of Sir Harry.

"These energetic measures have already produced a good effect, and in a few days quiet, I have no doubt, will be established. But the hopes that this event has raised in the minds of the disaffected will not so readily subside, for you must know the Dutch inhabitants cordially hate the English, and would be glad, I verily believe, of any opportunity to shake off their yoke.

"Some of the magnates of the Association have learnt the mortifying truth of the mutability of popular favour, and I have no doubt the knowledge will be of service to them hereafter. A Mr. Ebden, who resigned his seat in Council and became Chairman of the Association when it was first formed, and who was in such favour with the community that a full-length painting of him was purchased and hung up in the Town Hall, to hand down to posterity his patriotism and services, found, on his declining to abet the starvation scheme, that he was deprived of his post of honour, and his picture was first decapitated and then cut to pieces and kicked out of the hall by his former admirers and supporters!

"The troops, I am happy to inform you, continue healthy, and the 59th, *en route* to Hong Kong, on board H.M.S. *Apollo*, which put into Simon's Bay five days ago, is enjoying better health, and all appearance of cholera has disappeared.

"The Kafir tribes to the north of the Great Orange River, under Moohesh and other Chiefs, have been fighting amongst themselves, and at one time it was feared the peace of the sovereignty would be endangered by the turmoil. But, fortunately, peace has been restored, and the boundary lines between their possessions and those of the Government in that part of the Colony have been run.

"In British Kafraria things are going on quietly, and Sir Harry talks of going up to King William's Town in January, to be present at the distribution of presents to the Chiefs, if this tiresome and perplexing convict question be disposed of by that time. The Association may be considered at an end, and the leaders of it will, in all probability, have to pay smartly for their short-lived honour, as actions to the amount of £27,000 have already been filed against them, and others will in all probability follow. In this Colony no jury sits in civil causes, so that the Association gentlemen will have the full benefit of the law they have outraged.

"Sir Harry Smith favoured me with the perusal of your note to him of the 4th of August, in answer to one of his about his illness, and I feel much flattered by the kind way you have been good enough to speak of me to him. Sir Harry felt grateful to me for my attention to him during his severe illness, and I dare say wrote strongly on the occasion. But I know you will be pleased to hear that I have upon all occasions met with the most cordial support from him ever since he has been in the command, and I have reason to believe that the superintending duties of the Department have been performed to his entire satisfaction, which, I think, will give you equal gratification.

"I mention this, not out of vanity, or by way of boasting, but as a subject you will be glad to hear; for it must be a pleasure to you, as head of the Department, to know that the medical is in harmony with the other Departments of the service on foreign stations, without any compromise of dignity or respectability.

"In a letter from Lord Grey, which Sir Harry showed to me, mention is made of a reduction of the force in this command. Should this take place to any extent, I suppose either the Deputy-Inspector or First-Class Staff-Surgeon will be reduced at the same time. It is useless to speculate at this distance from home, as the arrangements will be decided on months before we hear of it

here ; but, should it affect my situation, I hope you will take my case into favourable consideration, as I cannot well afford to retire now until I obtain my next step of rank, which will give me a higher rate of half-pay."

The excitement about the convict question came to an end when a despatch was received from England, on the 13th of February, directing the despatch of the convicts from the Cape to Van Diemen's Land. Great rejoicings ensued in the Colony.

CHAPTER XI

THE EIGHTH KAFIR WAR OF 1850—1852

In 1850 there were warnings during the year of another rising of the Kafirs being imminent. At the conclusion of the seventh Kafir War of 1847-48, military villages had been placed on the Colonial frontier, and peaceful occupations resumed. New districts were formed; civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were established. But the settlement proved to be only temporary. The military strength was insufficient to overawe the Kafirs, who possessed the Amatolas, to which they could retreat. When the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, went to the front in October, 1850, Sandilli and other leading Chiefs failed to attend his invitation to a meeting. Sandilli was deposed from his Chiefship, and Sir Harry Smith returned satisfied to Cape Town. But he had to hasten back to King William's Town, with a reinforcement of troops. On the 24th of December the Kafirs attacked a British force, and the eighth Kafir War began. Other fighting ensued. Dr. Hall embarked on board the *Phœnix* steamer in Table Bay on the 16th of December, to join Sir Harry Smith in Kafirland. He arrived at Port Elizabeth on the 20th, and at Graham's Town on the 24th of the month, but was detained there, owing to the outbreak of the Kafir War, until the 22nd of January, 1851, when he marched with the Albany Hottentot force, and reached Headquarters at King William's Town on the 28th.

Apart from the fighting in the Amatolas, the Kafirs made raids into the Colony, though some of them re-

mained loyal and did not join in the rebellion. But the difficulty of the whole outbreak was aggravated by the insurrection of a large number of the Hottentots of the Kat River. Though they, too, were not unanimous in their intentions, the fact of some of them joining in with the other insurgents made the trouble more serious, especially as they acted in small parties, and made attacks on the country in which the burghers' farms and isolated villages were situated at considerable distances. The troops were insufficient to operate effectively in the difficult country, and the enemy avoided pitched battles. Sir Harry Smith could do little until the reinforcements which he summoned reached him. While he was awaiting them he called all the loyal inhabitants, both Europeans and natives, to arms, and placed the women and children in positions where they could be best protected. When he took the field in person on the 18th of March, 1851, Dr. Hall accompanied him, and was subsequently noticed in General Orders of the 26th of March for his services in the field. Sir Harry proceeded to the relief of Fort Hare, which he accomplished by a clever movement, as his biographer states, and then, with a rapidity which astonished the Kafirs, marched on Forts Cox and White, defeating the enemy in a spirited engagement. When his reinforcements began to reach him, in May, he organized movable columns to traverse the country and attack some of the retreats of the enemy, which they had strengthened in the mountains. So the war dragged on all through 1851. We may here anticipate a little. On the 26th of February, 1852, there occurred the sad loss of the *Birkenhead* steam-transport, with reinforcements on board—a wreck in which the English soldiers behaved heroically. In January, 1852, Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, not being satisfied with Sir Harry Smith's conduct of the war, and thinking that it might and should be speedily terminated, and the rising subdued, recalled him and sent out Lieutenant-General the Honourable George Cathcart to succeed him. This action

on the part of Lord Grey did not add to his popularity. Sir Harry Smith left the front and the Colony in April, 1852, amid universal regrets.

But Dr. Hall had left the Cape some months before, and to his narrative we must return. The course of events in which he was concerned is clearly delineated in the following account given by him :

" In ordinary times the duty of the soldier in this command is very light, and the fatigues few ; but in time of war it is peculiarly harassing and severe, from the difficult nature of the country he has to act in, and the subtle and ferocious foe he has to contend with. The one, from its broken, mountainous and wooded character, occasions much bodily fatigue and exposure to the elements ; and the other keeps him constantly on the alert, because he knows full well that, if by any accident or neglect of his own he falls into the enemy's hands, death is his inevitable doom, as the savages never spare anyone that the chances of war give them power over. Indeed, to do so they look on as a weakness, and when prisoners themselves they invariably expect to be put to death.

" During the early part of the year 1850 peace prevailed all along the border of the Colony, but in the month of September the garrison of Bloemfontein was compelled to take the field, to quell some disturbances among the Kafir Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the sovereignty, which threatened to involve the lives and properties of the peaceable farmers in the vicinity. The troops met with little resistance, and effected the object the British Resident had in view without sustaining any loss, and returned to their quarters at the end of the month.

" During the summer a young man of Umkye's tribe, of the name of Umlangini, began to aspire to the gift of prophecy, and, as his predictions were in accordance with the views and wishes of the Chiefs, he was encouraged by them, and soon became a man of great note and authority among his countrymen. He promised them

exemption from danger in battle, invariable success over their enemies in war, and the utter annihilation of the whites, with the restoration of all their lost lands. These wild ravings, so congenial to their ignorance and secret wishes, were observed to make a strong impression on the mind of the Kafirs, who were suffering severely from the combined effects of prolonged drought and devastation of the locusts; and their Chiefs, who brooded sullenly over their diminished authority, secretly encouraged this feeling of warlike ambition amongst their followers, and sent to recall all those who had taken service with the farmers in the Colony. This measure, unusual except in cases of threatened hostilities and the commotion in Kafirland, soon attracted the attention of the frontier inhabitants, and occasioned much uneasiness and alarm amongst those who resided on the immediate border, some of whom received friendly counsel from their Kafir servants, before leaving, to remove as quickly as possible from the approaching scene of strife and danger. This counsel was not neglected or dismissed; on the contrary, it was acted on by nearly everyone who lived within a certain distance of Kafirland, and, in place of combining for mutual support and defence against the common enemy, a panic seized them all, and they began to drive their flocks and herds with frantic haste into the interior of the Colony—and that, too, at a time when there was neither grass nor water to support them, so that nothing could be more disastrous to the fugitives than this ill-judged flight, and the loss of property from death on the road was immense. In October the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, proceeded to King William's Town to inquire into the truth of these reports, and on his arrival there he called a meeting of the Kafir Chiefs, all of whom, with the exception of Sandilli and his brother Anta, attended, and gave the Governor the most solemn assurances of their friendly feeling towards him personally, and their attachment and willing submission to the British Government. They went so far in their duplicity as even to express an

apprehension of an intended inroad of the Colonists into Kafirland!

"Acting on these assurances, and supported by the opinion of Colonel Mackinnon and the other Civil Commissioners on the spot as to the peaceable disposition of the natives, Sir Harry deposed Sandilli from his Chieftainship for contumacy, and assured the Colonists there were no just grounds for their fears, and recommended them all to return to their farms. Some few acted on this advice, but the fears of the many were too powerful to admit of their giving credence to the treacherous assurances of the Kafirs, after what they had seen and what they had been told. Sir Harry had no sooner turned his back on Kafirland than, before he reached the seat of Government in Cape Town, the Gaika Kafirs began to set the constituted authorities at defiance, and committed acts of aggression, which it was considered necessary to inquire into and punish; but the spirit of resistance had been roused, and the fines which were levied by the Kafir Police were rescued by the young men of the different kraals. A dispute took place between some Hottentot waggon-drivers in the commissariat employ and a party of Kafirs. The Kafirs beat the Hottentots and robbed them, and began now openly to state that it was not their intention to acknowledge the deposition of Sandilli, or to obey the ruler Sir Harry had placed over them.

"This aspect of affairs was too significant to admit of doubt or delay, and at the beginning of December His Excellency returned to King William's Town, taking with him a detachment of Artillery and nearly the whole of the 73rd Regiment. His speedy return and the reinforcement of troops he brought with him had considerable effect on the minds of many of the Kafir Chiefs; but the Gaika tribes seemed to have made up their minds to try the issue of a contest with the Colony, on the strength of the assurances of Umlangini, their prophet.

" Sir Harry immediately assembled a force of 800 men at Fort Cox, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, and sent a strong detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, of the 73rd Regiment, to the Cabousie Neck, thus threatening the two most assailable points of the Amatola range, and hemming in Sandilli and his followers between them.

" On the 24th of December Colonel Mackinnon left Fort Cox, with a column of 568 men, for the purpose of seizing Sandilli. But he had not proceeded far when he was attacked in a narrow defile on the banks of the Keiskamma, near where it is joined by the Wolf River, called the Boma Pass, and, before the troops could extricate themselves, one Officer—Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Stuart, Cape Mounted Rifles—and eleven men were killed, and two Officers—Brigade-Major Bisset and Dr. Catty, 6th Regiment—and six men were wounded. The troops were taken completely by surprise on this occasion, and, as the Kafir Police and Cape Corps had been permitted to clear the pass without obstruction or injury, there is but too much reason to suppose, from what has since occurred, that treachery had been at work. The column of Infantry, after some difficulty, and with the loss of their baggage, horses, and spare ammunition, cleared the pass and bivouacked for the night near the Uniondale missionary station, in the Keiskamma Hoek, and returned the next day through the Quilli Quilli Valley, followed by vast numbers of Kafirs, who, though flushed by the success of the previous day, were too wary to approach near enough to do any harm.

" On arriving at the Debe Neck, the troops were startled to find the mangled remains of sixteen men of the 45th Regiment, who had been surprised and murdered the day before by the Kafirs, while quite ignorant of their hostile disposition ; and on coming in sight of Fort White, the opportune arrival of the column relieved that post from a formidable assault which had been made on it by a large body of the enemy, under a supposition that the

garrison, from its reduced numbers, would not be able to offer much resistance.

"Having strengthened the garrison, and left his wounded there under the charge of Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Dr. Fraser, Colonel Mackinnon marched to Fort Cox with the remainder of the column to join the Commander-in-Chief. In the course of that night the whole of the Kafir Police deserted with their arms, horses, and appointments, carrying with them all their cattle, and setting fire to their barracks, and next day the Kafirs collected in great force in the wooded country round Fort Cox, and effectually cut, for five or six days, all communication between the Governor and the other military posts, as well as with the Colony. After the affair of the 24th of December Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre's column was ordered to fall back on King William's Town from the Cabousie Neck; but before he broke up his camp a letter was put into his hands by a friendly Kafir Chief of the name of Toise, that had been given to him for transmission, which disclosed such a treasonable correspondence between the men of the Cape Corps and their countrymen at the Kat River missionary settlement, that he thought it prudent to place the ringleaders in irons, and march them prisoners into King William's Town.

"On the 25th of December martial law was proclaimed in the frontier districts, and the Governor called on the inhabitants to turn out *en masse* to put down this unprovoked rebellion of the Kafirs and Hottentots, but his Proclamation was not responded to by the Colonists, and beyond the local measures which selfish terror dictated, scarcely a finger was moved to assist the Governor in his difficulty, or aid the general cause of the country.

"On the 25th of December the Kafirs in the neighbourhood of the military villages of Auckland, Wobourn, and Johannesburg in the Chumie Valley entered these places under the guise of friendship, and, while actually partaking of the Christmas hospitality of the inhabitants, at a pre-

concerted signal treacherously rushed on their unsuspecting victims, and murdered every man and boy that fell into their hands. The women and children made their way to the bush, and eventually fled to Fort Hare, where they were kindly received, and a military party was despatched immediately to succour their relatives, but arrived too late, as the work of murder and destruction had been accomplished before they reached the place. The only person they found in the neighbourhood was a reverend gentleman who had been spared by the Kafirs, and who preferred living amongst these savages reeking with the blood of his countrymen to returning with the troops to Fort Hare.

"On the 29th of December Colonel Somerset, with 150 men of the Rifle Brigade (91st Regiment), 80 of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and a light three-pounder, attempted to open a communication with the Governor at Fort Cox from Fort Hare, and throw in a small supply of slaughter cattle to the former place, but was driven back with the loss of two Officers and twenty men killed, and one Officer and sixteen men wounded, two of whom died a few hours after they reached Fort Hare. The trail of the gun-carriage broke off after it had been fired a few times, and the gun, which upset into a ravine, had to be abandoned, but was recovered the following day, as well as the bodies of the slain, without any opposition from the enemy.

"These advantages, trifling as they were, gave weight to the prophet Umlangini's predictions that 'the whites would be driven into the sea,' and created a commotion throughout all the tribes of the border from the Indian Ocean to the extremity of the Orange River Settlement. The Hottentots of the Kat River and Shiloh missionary institutions, who had been freed from slavery by the British Government, located in the most fertile districts of the whole frontier, and pampered and petted by the local authorities, took it into their heads that they also ought to be a nation, and have possession of the whole

country between the Sunday River and the Keiskamma, joined the Kafirs, and committed many enormities. It would be tedious and, indeed, out of place here to enter farther into the details of the rise and progress of this wide-spread defection amongst the coloured inhabitants of the frontier districts; but it is generally believed, and I trust it will eventually be brought to light, that very unjustifiable means were adopted by persons of rank and station, who ought to have known better, to excite them against the British Government, and persuade them that they had grievances to complain of which ought to be redressed. Some of these supposed grievances will surprise, and, I rather think, amuse the world at large when they are made public.

"As soon as ever the Commander-in-Chief could collect a sufficient force of native troops, which were speedily levied in the Western districts among the coloured inhabitants, and sent up by sea to East London at the mouth of the Buffalo River in Her Majesty's steamers, active military operations were commenced and carried on by them and the disposable Regular troops he had at hand until the end of the year."

In his reports to the Director-General of the Army Medical Department in London, Dr. Hall described the war up to the 18th of January, 1851, and the share taken in it by the Medical Staff under him, as follows:

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
"*January 4th*, 1851.

"In my letter of the 28th ult. I had the honour to inform you that the troops in this command had come in hostile collision with the Gaika Kafirs in the Amatolas on the 24th, and that one Officer (Assistant-Surgeon Dr. Stuart, Cape Mounted Rifles) and eleven men had been killed, and two Officers and six men wounded. On the 25th Colonel Mackinnon had to fight his way back from the Keiskamma Hoek, where he had bivouacked the

preceding night, to Forts White and Cox, but without sustaining any loss. On the arrival of the column at the Debe Neck they found sixteen men of the 45th Regiment, who had been surprised by Kafirs, lying dead on the road with their throats cut; and as it approached Fort White, a numerous body of Kafirs which had attacked the post fled, leaving two of their number dead, and carrying off several wounded.

"The Kafirs, knowing the weakened state of the garrison of Fort White, if such a term as 'fort' can with propriety be applied to a mere collection of wattle-and-dab huts erected to shelter the men from the weather, but without the least attempt at anything in the way of defence, not even a common ditch and breastwork, and expecting, I suppose, that it would be easily overpowered by surprise and numbers, rushed on and attempted to drive off the contractor's sheep and cattle that were grazing in the neighbourhood. The cattle were kraaled by the activity of the contractor's people, but the sheep could not be collected so readily, and were driven off by the Kafirs, who then made an attempt to open the cattle kraal; but, by the steady and courageous conduct of Lieutenant Goff of the 45th, with seventeen men of his Regiment and five civilians attached to the post, they were repulsed, and Colonel Mackinnon's column coming in sight at the moment, they fled to the neighbouring hills, leaving two of their number, as I have mentioned above, dead on the spot, and bearing off several others who were wounded.

"On the 29th Colonel Somerset, in an endeavour to open a communication from Fort Hare with His Excellency the Governor, who was shut up in Fort Cox, had a smart action with the Kafirs, and was compelled to retreat to Fort Hare with the loss of two Officers and twenty men killed, and one Officer and sixteen men wounded.

"The force under Colonel Somerset's command consisted of 150 men of the 91st Regiment, and 80 men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, with a three-pounder gun; and

it had not proceeded more than four or five miles on the road to Fort Cox when the column was opposed on its march by large bodies of Kafirs, but proceeded on for a couple of miles more to a place called the Yellow Woods, where the opposition became so strong, and the increasing number of the Kafirs so formidable, that he thought it prudent to retire, which he did, closely pressed by great bodies of Kafirs, who poured down from the adjacent hills as the column opened the different valleys, and attacked the troops with great ferocity, rushing on them with their assegais, and maintaining a hand-to-hand combat with the soldiers, as the latter became weakened and exhausted by protracted exertion, and the heat of the sun. The men were also embarrassed with the gun, which had become disabled by the trail breaking off short, but which they were unwilling to leave behind them. At length it upset into a ravine, and they were compelled to abandon it. It was towards the close of the day, when the men were utterly exhausted, and when they were endeavouring to recover the gun from the ravine into which it had fallen, that so many brave fellows of the 91st were killed and wounded who had fought with desperate courage against fearful odds during the whole day.

"The following morning the gun was recovered, and the bodies of the two Officers who had fallen brought in without the least opposition from the Kafirs, and we have since heard, through Kafir spies, that they lost 151 killed on the 29th.

"On the 30th His Excellency sallied out of Fort Cox at night, cut his way through the opposing Kafirs, and arrived safe at King William's Town about one o'clock on the following day.

"He has given orders to embody levies of native troops, and has called on the inhabitants to assemble *en masse* to put down this outbreak of the Gaika Kafirs, but I fear it will be a long, expensive, and bloody affair.

"Our Medical Staff, I am sorry to say, is not so efficient

as I could wish. We want four Assistant-Surgeons to complete our establishment, and Mr. Mandeville, a fifth, is in bad health, but has volunteered his services for the front, and will proceed to Fort Beaufort to relieve Staff-Assistant-Surgeon Black, the first safe escort that offers, and Mr. Black on being relieved will proceed to Fort Hare for Field Service.

"Surgeon Eddie, Cape Mounted Rifles, having been gazetted to half-pay, is most urgent to return to Graham's Town, and his successor, Mr. Minto, has not yet arrived, and if, as I fear from your official letter in reply to his application to exchange with Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Dr. O'Connor, he be in delicate health, he will be as little fit for Field Service as Dr. Reid, who, as you will observe by the enclosed letter, is utterly prostrated by indisposition and the scenes around him, and has been reported to me both by Colonel Somerset and Surgeon Eddie as totally unfit for any Field Service whatever.

"I trust, therefore, and I earnestly entreat you will be pleased to complete the Medical Staff here as soon as you conveniently can, for I sadly fear we shall soon want their services, and the duty here in time of war is not only severe, but peculiarly hazardous for medical men, so that timid or nervous people do not answer for it.

"The communication with Headquarters is kept up at present by means of Kafir runners, and it is not safe for small bodies of men to venture through the wooded parts of the country, so that I shall not be able to proceed until some troops go up. Indeed, I received instructions from His Excellency yesterday not on any account to attempt it until he sent me word."

"GRAHAM'S TOWN,
"*January 18th*, 1851.

"In my communication of the 4th inst. I made you acquainted with all the military operations that were known here at that time to have taken place with the enemy in front. Since then accounts have reached us of a second attack on Fort White by a large body of Kafirs on

the 3rd inst., which was repulsed without any loss on the part of the troops, but with the loss of twenty killed and several wounded on the part of the Kafirs. The Kafirs advanced to the attack in four separate columns, but the Commanding Officer of the post, having thrown up some temporary defences, reserved the fire of his men until the Kafirs were within eighty paces of the fort, when he poured in so destructive a volley as to arrest their advance, and after some little time they retired, leaving the number mentioned above dead on the field, and carrying off several wounded, amongst whom, it is stated, was a half-brother of Sandilli, named Dundas.

" On the 1st, 2nd, and 7th Fort Beaufort was attacked by a Kafir Chief of the name of Hermanus, who has resided within the boundaries of the Colony for the last three years, and who remained faithful to, and fought on the side of, Government during the whole of the war of 1846-47, but whose faith, from some dissatisfaction about his land and location on the Blinkwater, was doubted before the present war broke out with the Gaikas, and, immediately the attack on Colonel Mackinnon's column in the Amatolas was known, he broke out into open rebellion, and being joined by many of the Kat River Hottentots, committed numerous murders and atrocities in the Winterberg, and burnt and pillaged some of the finest farms on the frontier in the immediate neighbourhood of Fort Beaufort.

" At length, emboldened by his success and increasing numbers, he resolved to attack the town of Fort Beaufort itself, which he did on the 1st and 2nd insts., but was repulsed with the loss of twenty killed, and only succeeded in driving off some of the cattle belonging to the Fingos, who are located in the neighbourhood of that town.

" On the 2nd inst. Hermanus's horse was shot under him, and he himself was wounded in the foot. At daybreak on the morning of the 7th inst. he made a third and more determined attack on the place, which was gallantly repulsed by the Fingos and inhabitants, who

had fortunately received timely notice of the intended assault. In this affair Hermanus himself lost his life, and many of his followers were killed. The Fingos followed up their success, and pursued the flying enemy to their location on the Blinkwater, which they plundered and burnt, and drove off some 1,500 or 2,000 head of cattle as lawful spoil. So exasperated were the Fingos against Hermanus's band for the robberies it had committed on them that when the tide of battle turned in their favour the women sallied forth with knobkeeries to finish the work of destruction on their hated enemies.

" The garrison of Fort Beaufort was held in reserve by Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton on these occasions, and consequently sustained neither loss nor injury, and the loss on the part of the Fingos and townspeople was very small indeed, only one Fingo having been killed, I believe, and I have not heard how many were wounded, as the communication between this and Fort Beaufort is still irregular, and I have received no official return of the casualties from the Medical Officer stationed there.

" The communication with the Governor at King William's Town is kept up by means of Kafir messengers, but in two or three days a native levy of 300 Hottentots will attempt to force its way to Headquarters, and Sir Harry has written to me to avail myself of that opportunity to join him, which I shall do.

" The levies of natives in this part of the Colony are assembling slowly and reluctantly, and the Boers and burghers are standing aloof together, waiting for troops to come to their aid from England or anywhere else, and some of them, who have formed themselves into what are called ' laagers ' for the defence of their own families and property, are clamouring for forage for their horses and rations for themselves and families from Government.

" The white inhabitants are acting insanely, in my opinion, in trusting the defence of the frontier entirely to the Fingos, Hottentots, and other coloured inhabitants, who are shrewd enough to see, and, indeed, openly begin

to express, the importance of their service to the white people, who, they say, sit at home and make money, while they go and fight the Kafirs for them.

"The apathy of the inhabitants to their present position is quite unaccountable, and certainly very reprehensible, and I fear they will reap the bitter fruits of their folly at no very distant period.

"I have directed a supply of medical comforts to be sent to King William's Town and Fort Hare as soon as ever the roads are open, and I will make the best disposition I can of the small Medical Staff at my disposal. But, in addition to our diminished number, Dr. Reid, Surgeon, Rifle Brigade, 91st Regiment, as I have already mentioned to you in my former communication, has reported himself unfit for active duty in the field, and I am compelled to relieve him from his charge at Fort Hare. Staff-Assistant Surgeon Mandeville is an invalid, and Dr. Murtagh, Surgeon, 6th Regiment, is in infirm health, and would not be equal to any active service.

"The native levies coming up will require medical aid when in the field. Civil practitioners are not to be procured for the service, and unless a reinforcement of Medical Officers arrive soon, we shall be greatly embarrassed. I trust, however, ere this you will have been able to do something for our aid.

"The wounded, according to the last accounts I received from the fort, were all doing well."

Dr. Hall had not long returned to King William's Town when the end of his services at the Cape came. On the 5th of July, 1851, he was ordered to Bombay in General Orders issued from Headquarters at King William's Town. They were couched in terms very favourable to Dr. Hall, as follows:

"Dy.-Inspector-General A. Melvin having been appointed Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals at the Cape of Good Hope, *vice* Dr. Hall, ordered to Bombay,

that Officer will assume the duties of Principal Medical Officer from this date.

"'The Commander-in-Chief cannot permit Dr. Hall to leave the Army under his command, or to relinquish the important office he has filled with such advantage to the service, and credit to himself, without a strong and deep-felt expression of his regret at parting with so valuable and talented an Officer—a feeling in which the whole Army participates; nor can His Excellency convey to Dr. Hall this public testimony of his work without adding his personal feelings of regard, and tendering to him his grateful acknowledgments for that unceasing attention to which he is so much indebted to him personally. Exclusive of this Officer's great professional ability, he is one of the most able Officers in his Department in the field His Excellency ever associated with.'"

He embarked at East London on the 7th of July, and arrived in Cape Town on the 16th idem. Before leaving Cape Town, Dr. Hall wrote to Sir James McGrigor, to express his gratitude for kindness in the past, as follows:

"Mr. Melvin, my successor in this command, relieved me on the frontier on the 5th inst., and I am here waiting for an opportunity to proceed to my new station, Bombay, which you were kind enough to obtain for me, and which, from all I hear from everyone, I have no doubt we—for I am now compelled to write in the plural—shall like very much. I feel much indebted to you, my dear Sir James, for this parting act of official kindness, and I have great satisfaction in sending you the enclosed General Order, which was issued by Sir Harry Smith, on my being relieved in this command, as I know it will give you pleasure; for, though no longer the respected head of the Department, to whom we all for so many years looked up for countenance and approbation, you will not, I am quite satisfied, forget us, or feel indifferent to our interest; and as you have upon all occasions shown

kindness to me, I honestly confess I feel a degree of pride in being able to send you this flattering testimonial from the Commander-in-Chief here, and I hope, by strict and conscientious discharge of my duties, I may be equally fortunate in giving satisfaction to the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay. The Kafir War still lingers on, and has been much complicated by the defection of the Hottentots on the frontier; but I think the worst is over, and I am of opinion, now that they see a strong body of troops is being sent out, that the senior Chiefs in another month or so will endeavour to make terms for themselves. Mrs. Hall unites with me in kind regards to Lady McGrigor."

Dr. Hall was more than two months at Cape Town before he embarked on the *Owen Glendower* for Bombay, on the 25th of September, 1851, and arrived and landed there on the 18th of November, to assume the duties of Principal Medical Officer in the Bombay Presidency.

CHAPTER XII

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

1851—1854

DR. HALL soon found that India was not the El Dorado it used to be, and the dangerous illness of his little girl, Lucy, in his first month in the country, was a bad beginning for him. Lord Falkland (1848-1853) was Governor of Bombay when Dr. Hall arrived there, and he was succeeded in December, 1853, by Lord Elphinstone, who was in charge of the Presidency during the Mutiny of 1857.

A few words about Bombay, the Province and the city, will give some idea of the extent of the responsibilities devolving on Dr. Hall, as Principal Medical Officer for the English troops in the Presidency. The territories and the island of Bombay had formed part of the kingdom of Guzarat, but were included in the Mogul Empire. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese established themselves at certain points on the Malabar coast from Diu southwards. The island of Bombay first came into the hands of the English in 1660, when it formed part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal, on her marriage with Charles II. of England. The Portuguese were reluctant to give it up, and it was not until 1665 that the English Crown gained possession of it. The Crown made it over in 1668 to the East India Company, and by them it was placed under the Factory of Surat, where the Company had established their first factory in 1612. The seat of the Government of the

Presidency was transferred to Bombay in 1687. The Mahrattas, under Sivaji and his successors, during the latter portion of the seventeenth century, extended their dominion over nearly the whole of the area now included in the Presidency of Bombay. The British power was slow in its expansion on this side of India. Only isolated positions on the coast were acquired, until in 1776 the island of Salsette was captured. Some territory now included in the districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira was obtained from the Gaekwar of Baroda in 1805. When Baji Rao, the Peshwa, was defeated in the Mahratta War at the Battle of Kirki in 1817, he was deposed, and the greater part of his dominions, including Poona and other Mahratta territory, was incorporated in the Bombay Presidency, which was thus increased in 1818 by an area of over 47,000 square miles. Satara was acquired as lapsed territory in 1848. Sindh was captured from the Ameers in 1843, and annexed by Lord Ellenborough. By 1851, when Dr. Hall arrived in Bombay, the area of the Presidency (exclusive of the Native States) was about 120,000 square miles, and the population was estimated at over 11,000,000. It has since exceeded 18,000,000. The island, in which the town of Bombay is situated, has an extent of twenty-two square miles. According to a census taken in 1849, the population was under 600,000, whereas it now has risen to nearly 1,000,000. Since Dr. Hall's time a number of handsome buildings have been erected, which have made Bombay one of the finest cities in India, while its harbour and situation have given to it great commercial advantages. Of the whole military force of nearly 60,000 men then serving in the Presidency, the European soldiers of the Crown were above 6,000 in number, distributed over the military stations in the four divisions of Sindh, Guzarat, the Deccan, and the South.

Early in the year 1852 Dr. Hall proceeded on his official tour of inspection of the military stations, where British troops were stationed; and he was engaged on this duty until the 12th of March, by which date the climate of

Bombay becomes hot, and it has long been the practice for the Government and Army Headquarters to repair to the hill-stations for two or three months, until the monsoon rains set in. Of the hill-stations, Mahableshwar, about seventy miles from Poona, and on the range of the Western Ghats, parallel to the western coast of India, at a distance of about forty miles, is now one of the best-known in India. In 1852 it was a small place, ranking as a large village or small town. It was established in 1828 by Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, as a health-resort, the site being ceded, in exchange, by the Raja of Satara, and it was at one time tried as a sanitary station for troops; but it had to be abandoned for this purpose, as, owing to the humidity and great rainfall prevailing for some months—some 230 inches in the year—the climate did not suit for Europeans to reside there permanently. The general elevation of the station—4,500 feet—makes it cool, so that it has always afforded a welcome change for a few months to Officers and their families from the plains of the Bombay Presidency. Poona, where Dr. Hall resided at different periods with the Army Headquarters, was and is the principal cantonment of the Deccan. It has an elevation on the Deccan plateau of 1,850 feet above the sea-level, and a moderate rainfall. During the monsoon its climate is very agreeable, and much appreciated by all classes, European and native. Being situated only 119 miles from Bombay, it is easily accessible by the railway which traverses the Ghats. In 1604 it was granted by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar to Malloji, the grandfather of the great Sivaji, and was confirmed by his father. The Moguls resumed it for a time, but Aurangzeb restored it to Sivaji, and when the Peshwa obtained supremacy in the Mahratta confederacy, the seat of Mahratta government was moved from Satara to Poona. In 1802 by the Treaty of Bassein, the Peshwa was required to admit a British Subsidiary Force to be stationed at Poona. On the deposition of Baji Rao, Peshwa, after the Battle of

Kirki, in 1817, and the Mahratta War, the English took the town, with a number of other Mahratta districts, as already mentioned, which went to constitute the Bombay Presidency. Poona is still one of the most important places in India.

Dr. Hall had not been long at headquarters at Mahableshwar before he had occasion to write on the 24th of April, 1852, to Dr. Andrew Smith, Superintendent of the Army Medical Department in London, on a question connected with his promotion:

"I notice in the *Gazette* of the 12th of March that I have been passed over in the list of promotion, and as Dr. Dawson's removal from Van Diemen's Land to Madras renders any prospect of my advancement in India so remote, I trust in the event of Dublin becoming vacant, by the retirement of Sir James Pitcairn on the completion of his five years in July next, my claims for promotion to the rank of Inspector-General of Hospitals will not be overlooked, as, with the exception of Dr. Dawson, who, I presume, after having been passed over so often since he came to the top of the list of Deputy-Inspectors-General of Hospitals, has been sent to India at his own request for the purpose of succeeding Dr. St. John in Bengal, there is no Deputy-Inspector senior to me on the full-pay list; and, even without wishing to detract from Dr. Dawson's merit, I may fairly, I think, place my claim on the Service in competition with his; for, in addition to a varied service of thirty-five and a half years, with, I have every reason to believe, a full share of approbation from my immediate medical superiors, I have been three times thanked in General Orders, and once specially mentioned in an official despatch, for service in the field as head of my Department.

"In the event of my being so fortunate as to succeed to Sir James Pitcairn, I trust you will be good enough to bring my services under the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, and that His Grace will be pleased to recommend

me for the full rank of Inspector-General of Hospitals; for the Medical Department is the only one that has received no reward for its arduous, hazardous, and prolonged service in South Africa, whereas all other branches of the public service engaged in the Kafir War have been rewarded with rank and honour."

He wrote, on the same date, another letter to his former Chief and old friend in the Cape Colony, with whom he had served so long at various places and in such close contact. It has been narrated in Dr. Hall's letter of the 4th of January, 1851, to Sir James McGrigor how Sir Harry Smith, who had been besieged at Fort Cox by a large force of Kafirs, had, when Colonel Somerset failed in an attempt to relieve him, sallied out at night with all his troops, cut his way through the Kafirs, and made his way safely to King William's Town on the 31st of December, 1850. Some account has also been given of the Kafir War of 1851, and of the length to which it was protracted through the natural difficulties of the country and the want of an adequate force of English troops. Sir Harry Smith's recall from his Governorship by Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, could not be regarded as just or politic by an Officer like Dr. Hall, who was so well acquainted with the difficulties of the situation and all the surrounding circumstances. It was to this supersession of Sir Harry Smith, as above described, that Dr. Hall alluded when writing to him from Mahableshwar as follows:

"After all your labours, vexations, and uphill struggles, it was too bad of my Lord Grey to recall you at the very moment you were in a position to bring the war to a successful issue. And such a despatch, too! I was grieved to see it. None but those who were on the spot could possibly form an idea of the many difficulties you had to contend with in the early part of the war, and how much and how often your plans were defeated, or at least fell short of your well-founded expectations, by circumstances

over which you had no control. A General in command, however, let him be who he may, can only act according to the means at his disposal, and the noble old Duke's speech to the House of Lords in vindication of your military conduct must have been a consolation to you under your unmerited rebuke from Lord Grey. We are so far removed here, and hear so seldom from the Cape, that I do not know what has occurred; but I sincerely hope your intended foray into the Amatolas will enable you to bring Sandilli and the other Kafir Chiefs to reason before the arrival of General Cathcart, your successor. If not, and the Kafirs hear of your removal, he may have more to do than he anticipates, unless he comes out charged with the fatal policy of making peace at any rate or sacrifice.

"I think you are fortunate in getting away from the civil and military turmoil of the Cape, even at the expense of Lord Grey's uncivil despatch, which will damage his political reputation more than it will injure your military fame. Sir John Grey had an attack of paralysis, and was compelled to return home at the beginning of March. Lieutenant-General Staveley, who is in temporary command of the Bombay Army, has suffered so severely in Hong Kong that he is in very indifferent health at present. But perhaps the air of this really charming and beautiful place may renovate him before the rain sets in. It has already been of the greatest advantage to Mrs. Hall and the baby, both of whom began to experience the debilitating effect of the climate at Bombay before we came up. At the end of May we remove to Poona for the rains, and in the autumn either return here or go down to Bombay, according to the movements of Headquarters.

"Since my arrival here I have not only been passed over in the lists of promotion, but a senior Officer, the only one on the list, a Dr. Dawson, has been brought from Van Diemen's Land to Madras, which effectually cuts off any chance of my advancement in India for the next four or five years. I have, therefore, written to

Dr. Smith, soliciting promotion in Ireland, and, if you can assist me by bringing my case and wishes under the notice of Lord Fitzroy, I shall feel very grateful to you, for I fear this country will not answer well for either me or mine, and unless I can get some one to advocate my cause, the Doctor may, perhaps, consider this a good appointment, and forget me altogether. I have never been in a position to save anything from my pay until I came to India, and, now that what I considered my just claims for advancement have been superseded, I am anxious to obtain my promotion to secure the trifling advantage of increased pension for my family should the infirmities of age, which I feel creeping on me, deprive them of my support. In the multiplicity of your own concerns I hope you will pardon my giving you this trouble, and with our united kind love to yourself and Lady Smith, and every good wish for the health and happiness of you both."

When Dr. Hall next wrote to his old medical Chief, Sir James McGrigor, he had moved with Army Headquarters down to Poona, of which he gives some description :

"POONA,
"*August* 31*st*, 1852.

"I have just been favoured with your note of the 12th of March recommending to my notice Assistant-Surgeon Wilcox, of the 78th Highlanders, at the request of Dr. Arthur Stuart. I beg you will assure Dr. Stuart I shall be very happy to show any attention in my power to his nephew, Mr. Wilcox, on his arrival in the Presidency. We lead a kind of migratory life in this command, which, though not calculated to fill the rupee-bag, insures a good and cool climate all the year round, which is of still greater importance.

"During the winter months, from the end of November to the beginning of March, Headquarters are in Bombay, and at that season of the year, after the invalids have

been despatched to England, I generally make my tour of inspection to Sindh, Guzarat, and the Deccan.

"From March to June, which, as you know, is the hot season, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief go up to Mahableshwar, a mountain station near Satara, about seventy miles south by east of Bombay, and during the monsoon they come down to this place. Mahableshwar is a station of recent date, and could not, I think, have been in existence during your service at Bombay. Its elevation above the level of the sea is 4,800 feet, which insures a cool, delightful climate during the very hottest season of the year. In the monsoon the fall of rain there is so heavy and continuous as to render the place uninhabitable, and all the visitors leave it then and come down to Poona, where the monsoon is light, the weather cool and pleasant, and the station, consequently, a favourite residence for all classes of people at that season of the year. In India the pay is good—at Bombay less so than at either Madras or Calcutta—but then one's expenses are comparatively heavy, and I don't know that I shall be able to put aside much for a future day. To be sure, if Dr. Smith's plan of recommending Officers for promotion according to general length of service, and not according to dates of commission in the rank to be promoted from, be carried out, I shall have time enough, I fear, to make the experiment, if my health and strength don't fail me. It is difficult, I know, to convince anyone that his own peculiar claims are not equal to those of his neighbours, but at all events I have reason to infer that mine are not inferior to those of others. Certainly, the expressed opinion of my military superiors for active service in the field are too flattering to lead me to infer any such thing, and you yourself have never expressed any disapprobation of my conduct as head of the Medical Department of the Cape. It is hard, therefore, I feel, to have my position and claim set aside for mere length of service. Others may have claims for war service in the junior ranks of the Department, but I think I may fairly

place mine for service in the field as head of the Department in competition with anyone now employed on full-pay. Those who have not made the experiment may place the fatigue and anxiety of the head of the Department on active service in the same scale with the labours of the Junior Assistant-Surgeon, but *you* know the difference. In point of personal risk, perhaps, they are the same, but, in a warfare like that of the Cape, the personal risk of the Assistant is not one whit more than that of the Deputy-Inspector, and there is no comparison, I think all will admit, between the responsibility.

"I am happy, my dear Sir James, to hear so good an account of your general health, and I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again on my return to England. Rupees or not, thank you for the kind wish all the same."

His next letter to Sir Harry Smith from Poona shows the friendly terms on which they stood to each other:

"POONA,
"*September 15th*, 1852.

"I am quite delighted to hear of your table exploits, as that assures me of improved health, or you could not have ventured on the experiments in dietetics you mention. Beer may be taken with advantage, perhaps, and side dishes, provided the cook be a *chef*, may be ventured on, but salad I should most decidedly class under the head of doubtful articles. However, you are not, with your experience, very likely to injure yourself much by eating it if it does not agree with you, so I make myself quite easy on that score. We were so delighted to hear of your reception at home, and by this time the authorities, if they expected wonders from your successor, must have been greatly disappointed in their hopes, and convinced, if conviction were necessary, of the injustice that has been done you and the public service by removing you from your proper command at the time they did. You were quite conversant with both the people and the

country, and the best mode of conducting warlike operations there, whereas General Cathcart had much local knowledge to attain after his arrival in the country, and the Kafirs naturally took advantage and gained courage from the temporary cessation of active operations in the field after he took the command in Kafraria. I see by the newspapers that he intends to cross the Kei to punish Kreli, if he can catch him. The Burghers do not appear to have responded to this call any better than they did to yours, nor could he well expect that they would, so he has published what I consider an undignified threatening letter to the inhabitants of the frontier districts, which will only exasperate them, without advancing the cause one iota.

"We are getting more accustomed and better reconciled to the customs of the country. The climate we enjoy, owing to the constant moves of Headquarters, can scarcely be deemed Indian, and Mrs. Hall and the little girls have both benefited much by the change first to Mahableshwar during the hot months, and then to this place, Poona, at the beginning of the monsoon in June. Next month we are going up to a hill-fort called Singhur, about fourteen miles from this, where we shall remain six weeks, and then go down to Bombay for the winter. We are expecting out our new Commander-in-Chief towards the end of November, and I feel greatly obliged to you for recommending me to him, as well as for your kind application to Lord Fitzroy in my favour for the Inspectorship in Dublin. Dr. Smith's new plan of recommending for promotion according to general length of service, and not according to standing in the rank to be promoted from, is neither in accordance with the general usage of the Army in other Departments, nor has it ever been acted on in the Medical Department, so that the adoption now of such an *ex-post-facto* law in the higher grades is manifestly unjust. Had the rule of seniority been invariably adopted, as is the case in the Honourable Company's service, no one could have complained, but

then the relative position of all, not excepting Dr. Smith himself, who is junior to me in the service, would have been essentially different. Besides, it is quite notorious that many Officers in the Medical Department have from time to time refused promotion on the Staff, either to avoid bad climates, or to retain service where the pay and allowances were good; and it would hardly be fair to give those gentlemen the advantage of mere length of service over those of senior rank, who have borne the heat and burden of hard general service. I believe I am the only person, except Dr. Melvin, now on full pay who can claim war service as head of my Department in the field. The appointment of Inspector-General in Bengal will be vacant in July next by the retirement of Dr. St. John, and I hope I shall succeed to it, as Dr. Dawson has not yet joined at Madras, and even if he had, though he is senior to me as a Deputy-Inspector, according to Dr. Smith's new law I ought to succeed, as I have six years more full-pay service than he has; but in this case I suppose the seniority of commission, if Dr. Dawson were there, would be pleaded against me. It is very discouraging to be treated so, and a poor reward for long service conscientiously performed. It is my intention to address Lord Fitzroy direct on the subject of my promotion."

His trouble about his promotion did not permit him to rest quiet, and necessitated, in his opinion, an appeal to the higher authorities in London. He wrote, accordingly, as follows to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in England:

"BOMBAY,
"*October 14th*, 1852.

"It is at all times a disadvantage, I am aware, to have to appeal against the decision of those in authority above one in the public service, but circumstances may arise when a sense of duty to a man's own character and position render such an appeal imperative, and I trust your Lordship will kindly view what I have to say in that

light, and not as captious opposition to those placed in office over me. In April last, finding I had been passed over by Mr. Munro's promotion to the rank of Inspector-General of Hospitals, and seeing in the Army List the removal of Dr. Dawson from Van Diemen's Land to Madras, which, I considered, deferred all prospect of advancement for me in India to a very distant date, I applied to Dr. Smith, Superintendent of the Army Medical Department, for the appointment of Inspector-General of Hospitals in Dublin on the retirement of Sir James Pitcairn in July, and was greatly disappointed at a refusal, and surprised to understand that I was not to expect promotion until those who were senior to me, not in rank, but in length of service, were provided for. Now this, my Lord, I need not point out to you, is so much at variance with the usages of the Army in all other branches of the Service, and so manifestly unjust if allowed now to be adopted by Dr. Smith, as an *ex-post-facto* regulation in the higher grades of the Medical Department, that I claim the protection of the Commander-in-Chief against it. Had seniority of service always been the rule in the Medical Department of the Army, as is the case in the Medical Department of the Honourable Company's service in India, no one could have complained, as in that case the relative position of all, not excepting the Superintendent himself, would have been essentially different. My service, on the contrary, has been chiefly in the West Indies, amidst scenes of disease and death, and latterly at the Cape of Good Hope, exposed to the fatigue and risk of savage warfare. I am unwilling to trespass on your Lordship's valuable time, but claim permission to annex an abstract of my service and copies of the incidentally expressed opinion of some of the Medical and General Officers under whose superintendence and command I have served. I take leave to mention to your Lordship that the confidential reports of the character and conduct of all those under their superintendence are made annually by the principal Medical Officers of the

station to the head of the Medical Department, and, as these documents must be official records in the Medical Board Office in London, to them—so conscious am I of having at all times endeavoured to do my duty—I fearlessly appeal, and on them and the publicly-expressed opinion of my military superiors, both in garrison and on active service as head of my Department in the field, I rest my claims for advancement, in opposition to any one in the Department whom Dr. Smith may bring forward to my prejudice, and if these, after more than thirty-five years of active and varied service, are not to be admitted as valid, on what grounds are Medical Officers to make their claim, or what incentive is there for them to exert themselves zealously in the public service? The Commander-in-Chief, I am quite sure, is too just and too considerate ever to promote a junior Field-Officer over a senior one in the same Regiment, merely because the junior had entered the Service first, and why, it may be asked, should the Superintendent of the Army Medical Department be permitted to do that which His Grace in his high position has never been known to do? I appeal to the Commander-in-Chief to protect me in future, and that Dr. Smith may be restrained from carrying out his new rule to my prejudice in India, where now alone I look for my promotion, and hope to obtain it in due course of seniority."

On the same date, 14th of October, 1852, Dr. Hall wrote to Sir Harry Smith a letter, from which the following is an extract:

"The accounts from the Cape are not very cheering, but perhaps General Cathcart's expedition across the Kei may do something towards bringing matters to a close. I see they have adopted your plan of establishing a rural police, which is a good measure, and, had not the stupid idiots opposed your Militia Bill, they would not have been in the difficulties they have been for the last year and a half on the frontier.

"General Somerset is expected here soon. He is to have the Northern Division, and reside at Ahmadabad, one of the hottest places in all India, and at this season of the year one of the unhealthiest. I hope for his and his family's sake he will not arrive till the end of November, when the weather in Guzarat becomes cool and pleasant, and remains so for a couple of months, at the end of which period, if he is wise, he will take his family to Mount Abu, and remain there until the monsoon sets in."

From the 6th of January to the 4th of March, 1853, Dr. Hall was again, as in the previous year, engaged on his annual tour of inspection of the Regimental hospitals of the English troops in the Bombay Presidency. Sindh, which he had to visit, has been described as the Egypt of India, the land of the Indus, as Egypt is the land of the Nile. It is a country of desert and very little rainfall, which irrigation has rendered fertile. Its area is 47,000 square miles, and its population, which in 1856 was 1,770,000, is now 3,250,000. Alexander the Great passed through it; Persians and Afghans invaded it. Its conquest by Sir Charles Napier in 1843 is a matter of history, though the justice of its annexation has often been questioned. As a recently conquered country it required the presence of English troops, and it devolved upon Dr. Hall to inspect the medical arrangements for them.

Among Dr. Hall's distinguished patients at Poona may be mentioned Lord Frederick FitzClarence, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay. His Lordship arrived at Poona from Mahableshwar in the middle of June, 1853, and appears to have suffered severely from an attack of gouty inflammation of the foot, from boils, and from nervous depression. "About this time," writes Dr. Hall, "the table-turning craze came into fashion, and his Lordship spent an hour in the amusement, which, he said, fatigued him so extremely as to produce severe headache." To relieve this pain, no less than twenty-four leeches were applied behind his ears! Dr. Hall, however, discredits his Lord-

ship's belief that his indisposition was due to the table-turning, and ascribes his illness rather to the mental and bodily exertion which he had undergone in connection with the camp of instruction which was to assemble at Poona on the 25th of November. For several months his Lordship continued in a nervous, uncertain state of health, neither ill nor well, but gradually improved, and by December was quite restored.

Dr. Hall had to wait some time before he received a reply from England to his reference regarding promotion. It came eventually in the form of the following letter from Dr. Andrew Smith :

"13, ST. JAMES'S PLACE,
"*Confidential.*] "*December 31st*, 1853.

"Your well-known efficiency as a Medical Officer makes me feel I should neglect my duty to the public were I not to put it in your power to succeed on the next vacancy to the Inspector-Generalship in India. You may possibly have reason to decline the appointment. In that case, you will be recommended as the successor of Dr. Hacket, whose term of service will expire early in May next.

"As it is desirable I should be informed of your wishes as early as possible, I will thank you to reply to this letter by the first mail after you receive it."

To this Dr. Hall replied as follows :

"BOMBAY,
"*Confidential.*] "*February 11th*, 1854.

"I am favoured with your confidential letter of the 31st of December, 1853, and in reply beg to inform you that, with the promised certainty held out in your letter of succeeding in due course of seniority to the Inspectorship in Bengal on the retirement of Dr. Dawson, I prefer, now that I am established in India, waiting for my promotion in this country, but I am not the less obliged to you for your kindness in giving me the option of going to Gibraltar in succession to Dr. Hacket."

But before long Dr. Hall had his chance. He received the two letters of the 22nd of February and 23rd of March, 1854, from the Director-General, which told him of his selection to be Chief of the Medical Staff of the British Army in what was to be the expedition to the Crimea :

"13, ST. JAMES'S PLACE,
"LONDON,
"*Confidential.*] "*February 22nd*, 1854.

"As I expect the medical charge in Turkey will now be that of an Inspector-General, I request you will be prepared to leave India at a moment's notice to join Lord Raglan's Army. It may happen that I find it necessary, even if an Inspector is wanted, to make other arrangements, but no change will be made in my intentions with my own will. It must be something unavoidable that will cause me to do otherwise than I at present intend.

"If the Regiments under orders are ordered to embark in the course of a month, as is at present expected, you may look for another letter from me about a month after this, and this may be to order you to Turkey. I hope, if you are ordered, that you will be able to move in the East as they are moving here at present."

"ARMY AND ORDNANCE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.
"*Pressing.*] "*March 23rd*, 1854.

"By the mail which brings you this the Lieutenant-General commanding in Bombay will receive a letter from the General Commanding-in-Chief, desiring him to require you to proceed by the very first opportunity that offers for Constantinople *viâ* Egypt. You are to be appointed Chief of the Medical Staff of the British Army which is proceeding to Turkey, and by the time you reach your destination I expect you will find yourself the Inspector-General of Hospitals.

"It is most important that you enter as soon as possible upon the important charge which is about to be entrusted to you, and I therefore feel convinced you will use every

expedition in quitting Bombay. Some time, of course, will elapse before your successor will reach Bombay. You will, therefore, be good enough to arrange that the duties of the Department be entrusted *pro tem.* to the senior Surgeon in the command.

" On your reaching Alexandria you will, I expect, find it easy to get a passage to Constantinople, but, if you cannot, I imagine your best course will be to proceed to Malta, and then turn back to the eastward. You will, however, no doubt manage this in the best possible manner."

This appointment of Dr. Hall to the medical charge of the forces proceeding to Turkey under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Raglan was confirmed by the orders received from the Horse Guards, addressed to Lieutenant-General Lord Frederick FitzClarence, and which ran as follows :

" HORSE GUARDS,
" *March 23rd*, 1854.

" Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, John Hall, M.D., having been selected for the medical charge of the forces now proceeding on a particular service to the East of Europe, I have the honour, by desire of the General Commanding-in-Chief, to request your Lordship will cause Dr. Hall to be instructed to leave India by the earliest opportunity, and proceed direct to Constantinople and report himself to the General in command there."

It was an immense gratification to Dr. Hall to be officially informed from Army Headquarters that he had been selected by Queen Victoria for the post of Principal Medical Officer of the British Army proceeding on active service to Turkey :

" HEADQUARTERS,
" MAHABLESHWAR,
" *April 27th*, 1854.

" Dr. Hall having been selected by the Queen for the medical charge of the forces proceeding on a particular

service in the East of Europe, Surgeon Ross, 10th Hussars, as Senior Medical Officer, will assume charge of the offices of H.M.'s forces in this Presidency from the date of Dr. Hall's embarkation, subject to the confirmation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India.

" H. HAVELOCK,
" *Lt.-Col., D.A.G. of H.M.'s Forces, Bombay.*"

Using all possible expedition, while he had to break up his Indian home and bid adieu to his family—as so many Englishmen in India have had to do—besides making all the arrangements required for active service in a part of the world not very well known, and destitute of the resources of civilization, Dr. Hall managed to get away from Mahableshwar on the 1st of May for Poona and Bombay, and to embark from that port in the Honourable East India Company's steamer *Semiramis* on the 10th of May.

Behind the strict disciplinarian Dr. Hall had a very affectionate nature. For years after their marriage his love for his wife was rather that of a sweetheart than of a husband, and his passionate fondness for his two daughters was equally remarkable. The following extracts from his three letters to his wife, who was living at the summer sanatorium, Mahableshwar, written within thirty hours of his departure from India for the Crimea, will give an idea of his devotion to her and his children in the midst of the multifarious duties connected with his Department :

" *May 8th*, 1854.
" *6 p.m.*

" MY DEAREST LOVE,

" I think you are wrong, darling, in giving way to grief in the way you are doing at my departure on a duty I certainly never solicited, but which is, after all, honourable, and nothing you need be ashamed of ; and as for the risk I run, you must bear in mind there is the same protecting Providence everywhere. . . ."

Five hours later, at 11 p.m., just before retiring to rest after the day's hard work, he wrote to her again:

"The time for my departure is certainly drawing rapidly on, and I leave India, I need not tell you, with a heavy heart; but as I said before, we must trust in the protection of an overruling Providence—you and the children from sickness in this country, and I from the chances of war and sickness where I am going. . . ."

The 9th of May was a very busy day with him. He had not only to pack up for the Crimean Campaign, but to make proper arrangements for his wife and two daughters to stay in India for some months, for the younger daughter, Alice, who was born in India, being now hardly eighteen months old, it was considered advisable for them to wait till the winter before sailing for home, and thus avoid the intense heat in the Red Sea. Dr. Hall was particularly fond of Alice (now Mrs. Simpson), who is often alluded to in his letters to his wife as "fat baby" and "fatty." At Bombay he did not neglect to consult a lawyer and make his will. Returning home quite tired at 11.30 p.m., he wrote his farewell letter to his wife, which covered eight pages. The concluding lines were:

"I know, like myself, you will for a long time feel the break-up of our domestic happiness, but as the thing is unavoidable, and not our own seeking, you distress me by your despondency, and I hope in a little while you will get more reconciled to our separation. . . . I have such unbounded confidence in your discretion that I should be sorry to think you shunned the cheering influence of society, and, as the world goes, I doubt not you will meet with as much sympathy where you are as anywhere else. . . . I must now say good-night, and God bless you and the dear children, for it is late, and to-morrow night will be one of discomfort and confusion on board the packet."

MRS. SIMPSON WITH HER GRANDCHILD.

Taken at Hong Kong in 1901.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE CRIMEAN WAR

1854

THE Crimea, the theatre of one of the greatest wars of the last century, was known to the ancients as Tauris, and many places celebrated in antiquity are found within the confines of the Peninsula. For instance, Cape Fiolente, on the south-west, is the classical Parthenium, where legend says Iphigeneia performed her duties as priestess in the temple of Artemis. The primitive inhabitants were a Celtic race, driven out by the Scythians in the seventh century B.C., and on the steppes, or barren prairie lands, there still remain frequent reminders of these fierce tribes of bygone ages in the shape of Scythian burial-mounds. In the seventh century the country attracted colonists from Greece, and in 438 B.C. the Grecian ruler at Panticapæum (Cimmerian Bosphorus) became King of that State, still continuing the connection with his motherland by trade with Athens in wheat, etc. In 114 B.C. Pærisades V., King of Bosphorus, sought the aid of Mithridates VI., King of Pontus, against the Scythians, and in 63 B.C. Pompey bestowed the kingdom of Bosphorus on Pharnaces, son of Mithridates. After 15 B.C. it became merely a State tributary to Rome, and during many troubled centuries the history of the Crimea is but the record of successive foreign invasions. The prey of Goths, Huns, Khazars, Byzantine Greeks, Kipchaks, Mongols, Genoese, Venetians, Tartars, it was finally conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1475. Under Hadji

Ghirai, the Tartars had founded an independent kingdom, first at Solkhat, and later at Bakhchi-sarai, but from 1478 to 1777 they were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Ottoman Empire. In 1777, however, they were defeated by the Russians, and in 1783 Russia took over the whole Crimean Peninsula.

Thus this unhappy country has been the victim of incessant attack from East and West, North and South. The next important occasion when it suffered the miseries of a foreign invasion was in 1854 to 1856, when Great Britain and France, aided by Sardinia, supported Turkey in the latter's declaration of war against Russia. The Danube was the first scene of action, but later on the centre of the fighting shifted to the Crimea, and especially to Sebastopol, which was most important from a strategic point of view as being the chief station for the Black Sea fleet. On the 7th of September, 1854, therefore, the allied armies proceeded across the Black Sea, and landed in the Crimea, disembarking at a place known as Old Fort, north of Sebastopol. The Russians, under Menshikov, met the English and French attack on the heights of Alma on the 20th of September, and were repulsed, though with heavy loss on both sides.

On the 23rd of September the allies, unable to attack Sebastopol at once, effected a flank march, the English establishing themselves in Balaklava, where they were able to rejoin the fleet, and the French in Kamiesh. The siege of Sebastopol now began, the first attack being made on the 17th of October. On the 25th of October occurred the famous charges of the " Heavy Brigade " and " Light Brigade " at Balaklava, followed by the Battle of Inkerman on the 5th of November, in which Menshikov lost 12,000 men.

The armies were forced to winter in the Crimea (1854-55), and in Dr. Hall's letters, subsequently quoted, is found abundant evidence of the misery suffered by the soldiery. The siege of Sebastopol still continued, with terrible bombardments at intervals. On the 7th of June,

1855, the French stormed the Mamelon and the White Works, and the British took the Quarries near the Redan, but were subsequently repulsed with fearful slaughter from their attack on the Redan. On the 28th of June, 1855, Lord Raglan, the English Commander-in-Chief, died.

The storming of the Malakoff ensued on the 8th of September, the fall of this fortress proving the end of the siege and the conclusion of the serious part of the war. The Peace of Paris was signed on the 30th of March, 1856. These few lines summarize the course of the Crimean War, which will be described in greater detail in the following pages.

Meanwhile it may here be premised that the state of affairs in the East, and the progress of the war and the condition of the Army, were brought to the notice of the British nation by the "War Correspondent" of the *Times*, Mr. W. H. Russell, whose outspoken utterances left nothing concealed. He sailed from Malta on the 31st of March, 1854, with the Rifle Brigade to Gallipoli, so that he was early on the field. His letters from the camp of Aladyn continued to tell the same story of "disorganization, delay, and disaster." When the British troops landed in the Crimea they looked very ill from their sufferings in the neighbourhood of Varna; they had no tents on landing, and were unprotected against the rain. The English and French Generals were not on the best of terms, but they alike expected to take Sebastopol within a month of landing. The plain speaking in Mr. Russell's letters, and the *Times'* comments thereon, were exceedingly distasteful to the authorities at home and in the Crimea; on the 17th of January, 1855, he wrote home that the Army was reduced from 55,000 to 11,000 fit to shoulder a musket, but not fit for duty against the enemy. The War Office put forward the cry that by describing in detail the sufferings of the troops during the Crimean winter, and by denouncing the want of energy in the despatch of reinforcements, the *Times* was playing into the hands of the enemy, and providing the Czar with

information which it would be desirable to suppress. Sebastopol was besieged from the 17th of October, 1854, and did not fall till the 8th of September, 1855. It was admitted by the Russians that they had lost 400,000 men since the commencement of the war. At the end of the Peace Conference at Paris in March, 1856, it was perceived that, of all the Powers of Europe, England alone had the resource and the spirit which would enable her to continue the war, and that her moderation in the discussions did not arise from weakness, despondency, or defeat.*

Lord Raglan felt the "inconvenience" of unbridled communications from his camp to the world, but admitted that the special correspondents must be tolerated, although Mr. W. H. Russell, from the time that his tent was pitched in a Divisional Camp, became surrounded by numerous informants and critics of authority. The general result was that Mr. Russell brought to light a number of defects and shortcomings, which were quite enough to excite the emotional British public, who were eager to blame anybody and everybody in authority. But Mr. Russell was not always right. Lord Raglan and his staff never spared themselves, and did all that men could do to bring the war to a successful issue.

"Upon the whole, it resulted that the Government and the Horse Guards in concert despatched to the Crimea a General Officer of high standing, named General James Simpson, who, besides being armed with the authority of a 'Chief of the Staff,' at Lord Raglan's Headquarters, was instructed to look into the composition of the General Staff of the Army, to report his opinion, and any changes he might think necessary; and he was specially charged to report any unfitness he might observe, without favour or affection. . . . After passing many weeks at Lord Raglan's Headquarters, and informing himself with great care upon the questions referred to him, General Simpson reported his opinion of the Officers of the Head-

* *Life of J. T. Delane, Editor of the "Times,"* by A. F. Dasent, vol. i., p. 235.

quarter Staff, saying also: 'There is not one of them whom I would wish to see removed'; and adding yet further, 'I do not think a better selection of Staff Officers could be made, and therefore have no reasons to recommend any changes to your Lordship.' The General made his report the more satisfactory by saying: 'I confess myself to have come amongst these Officers, many of them strangers to me, with some degree of prejudice against them created in my mind by the gross misrepresentations, current in England respecting them.'

"Thus truth in the end prevailed against angry, railing multitudes."*

To trace the difficulties and disadvantages under which the Medical Department in the Crimea laboured, it will be necessary to go back to the commencement of the war —to pass in review the whole transactions of the campaign, and take into consideration the amount of medical equipment, both personnel and material, provided before the Army took the field, and after it was engaged in active operations with the enemy.

When the war broke out, Dr. Hall was serving in India, and on the 27th of April, 1854, he received an order to join the Army proceeding to the East under the command of Lord Raglan. On the 1st of May he left Mahableshwar for Bombay to embark for Suez, and on the 17th of June he arrived at Constantinople.

It appeared† subsequently that Dr. A. Smith, Head of the Medical Service, had appointed Dr. Hall, while Deputy-Inspector-General in India, to be Inspector-General and Principal Medical Officer of the Crimean Force, because he could not pass him over with justice to him or to the public. Dr. Dumbreck, ten years his junior, was to have been Principal Medical Officer if Dr. Hall had not arrived from India. Dr. W. H. Burrell,‡

* *The Invasion of the Crimea*, by A. W. Kinglake, vol. vii., pp. 305-307.

† The Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Medical Department (Army) Report dated July 3rd, 1856, vol. xiii., p. 12.

‡ *The War*, by W. H. Russell, 1855, p. 66.

senior in standing to Dr. Hall, was offered Dr. Hall's Indian appointment, but refused it, and retired from the service, very indignant.

Dr. Hall was not an Officer to spare himself or to delay when matters were pressing and his services were urgently required. When engaged on work which called for energy and activity, he threw himself heart and soul into the duties of his office. He had done so in the West Indies when he had epidemics of tropical complaints to contend with, and he had shown similar vigour and energy when engaged against the Kafirs with Sir George Berkeley and Sir Harry Smith. But his personal movements were, of course, dependent on the orders of those in high authority responsible for the movements of the whole Army; and, as to his own destination, he had to conform to the commands he received, as much as the youngest subaltern or the rawest recruit in the forces. He received some encouragement, *en route*, from Sir James McGrigor, who wrote to him:

"3, HARLEY STREET,
"LONDON,
"*May 17th*, 1854.

"I beg heartily and sincerely to congratulate you on your promotion to the eminent station to which you have been appointed in the Medical Department of the British Army, and in which I have no doubt you will gain distinction.

"I now trouble you with a letter in favour of Dr. McLeod, a gentleman of high literary as well as professional attainments; he does not want any appointment, but that he may have your sanction to visit in the British hospitals occasionally and to see what is doing there. Dr. McLeod is the son of the Rev. Dr. McLeod, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh. When you have a moment's leisure I shall be thankful to hear from you."

Dr. Hall's order to leave Bombay was confined to the simple fact of directing him to proceed to Constantinople and report himself for duty to the General Officer in com-

mand of the British Army there. So that when he arrived he was in utter ignorance of the strength of the force to be employed, and of all the details of his own Department. But he knew, from previous experience at the Cape of Good Hope during the Kafir wars of 1846-47 and 1850-51, and the Emigrant Boer War of 1848, that all the minor branches of the Medical Department, such as apothecaries, dispensers of medicine, Purveyors, Purveyors' clerks, ambulance transport, and hospital servants, had long been so much reduced in the British service that they could scarcely be said to exist, and that they would have to be created *de novo* in Turkey—a work of much difficulty and responsibility under the most favourable circumstances, and in the field in front of an enemy nearly impossible to accomplish without much confusion in the first instance, particularly where nearly all the Medical Officers were without practical experience in such matters, and, indeed, without any knowledge whatever of the details of Field Service. So convinced was he of this difficulty that, when congratulated by his friends in India on his appointment, he could not avoid observing to them, that though the honour was great and the appointment flattering, he would willingly forfeit one year's pay could he escape the labour and anxiety he knew he should have to undergo in the performance of his duty. This was not from any unwillingness to comply with the order he had received, or reluctance to undertake that which the public service required of him, for it is an established axiom that Government has an undoubted right to command the time and services of all Officers when and where it thinks fit. Without this the public service of the country could not be conducted in either a beneficial or satisfactory manner; and the system of individual appeals to popular sympathy through the public Press that had been adopted in the Army was one subversive of military subordination and discipline, which, in Dr. Hall's opinion, would have to be modified should England again be at war with any European State. For in the course of all wars many things occur that it is

neither wise nor politic to make known to the enemy, however desirous the people at home may feel to be made acquainted with them; but where the Press is free, as it fortunately is in England, it is impossible to restrain comments on passing events within the bounds of prudent discretion, and in this way erroneous impressions are frequently made by the public not discriminating between matters of fact and mere matters of opinion.

No Department of the Army suffered so much as the Medical Department did, at the commencement of the war in the Crimea, from this kind of discussion, and, unfortunately, many embarrassing difficulties arose, and these were eagerly taken up, and bruited about, to the prejudice of the Medical Department, by individuals from whom the Medical Department had a right to expect assistance and support in place of this kind of covert opposition.

The strength of the British Army when Dr. Hall joined it at Constantinople on the 17th of June, 1854, consisted of about 25,000 men, which had been divided into four Divisions of Infantry and one of Cavalry, with their quotas of Artillery and Sappers and Miners.

The Light Division of Infantry had already proceeded from Scutari to Varna, in Bulgaria; the First and Second Divisions of Infantry and part of the Cavalry sailed for the same destination a day or two after his arrival; and the Third Division, which was stationed at Gallipoli, followed shortly afterwards, with the exception of the 4th Foot, which remained in garrison there. The sick of the Third Division were left in the General Hospital, which had been established there on the arrival of the Army from Malta in April; those of the Artillery, Cavalry, First, Second, and Light Divisions were transferred to the General Hospital, which had been opened up at Scutari for their reception, on the departure of the Army for Varna, as up to that period they had been treated in their separate Regimental hospital establishments.

The General Hospital at Scutari, three-fourths of which

had been given over to the British, was a fine and well-appointed building; but, as the English took no general hospital establishment with them to the East, stewards, wardmasters, orderlies, and cooks had to be drawn from the effective strength of the Army; and as the military authorities were naturally anxious at the opening of a campaign to keep that as numerous and efficient as possible, the number conceded was too small, and, as the men were all utterly ignorant of the new duties they had to perform, it is not surprising that the hospital was not in as good order as could be wished, and Dr. Hall was compelled to apply at once to the Commandant for ten additional orderlies for the wards, and a fatigue party of fifteen men to attend night and morning, for the purpose of removing nuisances and assisting in keeping the hospital and its precincts in order. He also instructed the Purveyor to hire a sufficient number of Armenian washermen for the service of the hospital, which was immediately carried into effect, and they were in full employment at the wash-house in the General Hospital before he left Scutari for Varna on the 26th of June, 1854.

The Turkish General Hospital at Scutari was an establishment capable of accommodating about 800 patients. It was fully equipped, and in good order from the commencement; yet, strange to say, nearly all who wrote or commented on the Scutari Hospitals confined their observations to the Barrack Hospital, which was a large building that had been hurriedly converted into a hospital.

In June, 1854, part of the General Hospital at Scutari was occupied by Turkish sick, but this was subsequently handed over to the British, and the whole building was in their possession some time before the arrival of either sick or wounded from the Crimea; but, thinking it would be desirable to have more hospital accommodation ready, Dr. Hall recommended to Lord Raglan, in June, 1854, that the lazaretto at Abydos, for the alterations of which £1,000 had already been granted, should be completed immediately, and made ready for the reception of the

sick. He examined the main barrack at Scutari, and the Military Hospital at Kulali, before he embarked for Varna, in June, 1854, and he recommended to his Lordship, on his arrival there, that the upper rooms of the whole of the western face and one half of the southern face of the Barrack Square should be handed over to the Medical Department, that they might be purified and fitted up as a hospital. He also recommended that application should be made to the Turkish authorities for the upper floor of the Military Hospital at Kulali, which was the only portion of the building that he thought it desirable to occupy.

Some short time afterwards an order was received from the War Minister for Rear-Admiral Boxer to apply to the Turkish Government for a line-of-battle ship, to be employed as a floating hospital, and instructions were at the same time given for obtaining more hospital accommodation at Scutari for the sick of the Army.

From the 27th of June, when Dr. Hall reached Varna, he was stationary, though fully employed with preparations, for more than two months. From there he wrote, describing briefly the general situation, on the 2nd of July, to Mr. Charles McGrigor, as follows :—

"We have between 40,000 and 50,000 men in and about Varna, which makes it a place of great bustle at present. Two Divisions of our Army have moved on a few miles in advance, and a third marches at daylight. The Russians have been compelled to raise the siege of Silistria and recross the Danube, not from any fear of the Turks, as some people would have us believe, but merely because the river rose and inundated their entrenchments, and they were compelled to retire or share the fate of the rats. The Russian Army, 140,000 strong, is concentrated on the left bank of the river about ten miles distant from it, where I expect its Commander will be called to give the allied Army battle, they having the Danube in their rear in place of himself; yet one cannot

understand his remaining where he is if the Austrians be good men and true, for rumour says they are moving down on his flank with 100,000 men.

"I do not know exactly what our own movements portend, but I should say nothing very important as yet."

When the Army landed at Varna, a large Turkish barrack, composed of two quadrangles, divided by a broad open passage, closed at each end with gates, and Officers' quarters over them, was taken possession of by the English and French authorities for the reception of the sick of their respective Armies. In a portion of that set apart for the English sick the apothecaries' and Purveyors' stores were placed, and the remainder was occupied by patients to the number of 350.

On the landing of the Army at Varna, it was encamped on the shores of the lake in the vicinity of the town, partly on ground that was stated to have formed the plague cemetery of the Russian Army in 1828-29.

The valley of Devna extended from the fortified town of Varna to the village of that name, about fifteen miles distant. A chain of lakes, fed by a small stream called the Pravada, and powerful springs which rose near Devna, ran the whole length of the valley, and discharged itself by means of a short channel into Varna Bay. The ground rose on each side of the valley into hills of some elevation, on the south side almost immediately from the water's edge, and on the north side at a distance of from about three-quarters of a mile to a mile for five or six miles, when the hills drew in close to the upper end of the lower lake just beyond Aladyn. The valley then opened out again to form the upper lake, which was bounded on the west, as well as on the north and south, by hills, except at two points—one to the north-west, where the village of Devna was situated, and there the hills sank, and through this break the road to Shumla passed, the other to the south-west, where the Pravada entered the upper lake.

At the upper part of the superior lake there was a considerable extent of morass between where the springs rose

and where the clear expanse of water made its appearance; and at the lower end of the inferior lake, on the south side of the valley near Varna, there was also a portion of swampy ground between the fresh water of the lake and the salt water of the bay, the channel of communication between the two being on the north side near the town.

The British Army, as has been mentioned before, was encamped on the north border of the lake, near the town of Varna, on its first arrival; and when the Cavalry arrived, they were landed on the south side of the bay, and encamped on the swampy ground between the lake and the head of the bay, close under the hill where the road from Adrianople came over, and where there was a small run of water from a spring in the hills above.

The position selected for the encampment of the Army, in the first instance, looking at it from a mere sanitary point of view, was about as injudicious a one as could possibly have been chosen, and the result proved what might naturally have been expected. But even the Quarter-master-General placed his own tent on the south side of the valley, near the Cavalry camp, and persisted, contrary to advice, in remaining there till he contracted fever, and was compelled to return home. Dr. Hall's written observations regarding the injudicious position of some of the encampments, addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, through his Military Secretary, were not acted on by him beyond submitting them for the opinion and criticism of the Military Commanders, who disagreed with Dr. Hall, and nothing was done to remedy the mistake until pestilence smote the Army, but it was then too late.

In the life of Mr. J. T. Delane, the editor of the *Times*, by Mr. Dasent (vol. i., p. 182), there is a letter from the former to the effect that the British Embassy at Constantinople gave no assistance or information to the Crimean expedition; that the site of the camp at Devna was known to be most unhealthy, and was marked as *pestilentieux* in the maps, but no one would interfere so as to warn the Generals. Delane left England in the middle of

August with Kinglake and Layard, and went to the Crimea to see things for himself. He landed there with the British Army, but unfortunately left it on the 18th of September, just before the Battle of the Alma.

After cholera broke out, the Light Division was removed to a place called Monaster, and the Heavy Cavalry and 3rd Division of Infantry to the Galata Heights on the south side of Varna Bay, with the exception of one Regiment, which was left to do duty in Varna, but which suffered so severely from disease that it was soon found necessary to replace it by another. The two Regiments of Heavy Cavalry, and the Light Brigade of Cavalry, which were stationed at Devna, were also removed some miles in advance on the Shumla Road to a place called Yeni Bazar.

Unless urgent military reasons existed for occupying the position that was taken up by the British Army on landing at Varna, and this must always be taken into consideration in the calculations, it would have been more judicious from a sanitary point of view to have encamped on the Galata Heights, on the south side of Varna Bay, where the ground was dry, free from noxious exhalations, and overlooked the Black Sea ; whereas the whole of the Devna valley was considered deadly in the autumn.

The Ambulance Corps, consisting of three Officers and 300 men, with 20 four-wheeled spring waggons, 20 two-wheeled spring carts, and 9 Flanders store waggons, arrived at Varna towards the end of July, and was encamped on the south side of the bay, near the Heavy Cavalry, but on cholera making its appearance amongst the men, which it did soon after their landing, they were removed to the rising ground on the Galata Heights.

During this time, in fact, the mortality in the allied Armies encamped at Varna and in the neighbourhood, and in the fleet riding at Baltchick Bay, was very serious, amounting, indeed, to a calamity. The valleys near Varna, where, as described, the camps were pitched, proved, indeed, to be perfectly pestilential, and the same was the character of any place in that part of Bulgaria at that

time of year. Besides the cholera in July at Varna, other misfortunes supervened. A fire, which was attributed to the ill-feeling of the Greeks in sympathy with the Russians, consumed immense quantities of Commissariat stores, but the worst consequences were averted by the gallant conduct of the seamen. Malaria also was fatal to many; dysentery and fever were widely prevalent. The soldiers, as is their wont, were imprudent in eating unwholesome fruits and vegetables, and drinking the raw local spirit called *raki*, to an immoderate extent. The fleet was affected equally with the soldiers on land. The mortality among the French was even greater than in the English ranks. Despondency settled on the allied forces, so that, when orders to prepare for re-embarkation were issued, they were received with delight as offering the prospect of active service in the place of inactivity. Dr. Hall went through all this trying period. He had little time for private correspondence, but the following letters to Mr. Charles McGrigor may be quoted. The forwarding of his will to England showed his opinion of the dangers of the situation.

"*August 8th*, 1854.

"The rumour now is that we are going to make an attempt on Sebastopol in the Crimea, and that 60,000 men, French and English, will be embarked for service in about a week. The Bay here is filling rapidly with ships of all sizes, which looks like business, but whether we shall go or not I cannot tell; certainly the men might as well be killed there as die of cholera here, for the disease prevails extensively in both Armies, though our loss as yet has been trifling in comparison with that of the French; but as it is still raging in all our camps, there is no saying what our loss may be. Our loss in all the forces is under 300, but that of the French must be more than four times that number."

"*August 14th*, 1854.

"As these are times of peril for everyone employed out here, and as it is the bounden duty of everyone to

prepare for the worst, I enclose my will, which I shall feel obliged by your locking up for me. If I survive this pestilence and the coming turmoil, I shall be glad to claim it on my return to England, and if fate wills it otherwise, you will be good enough to forward the packet to my widow."

Dr. Hall had many difficulties to contend with in detail. Essence of beef being then a comparatively new preparation, only a moderate quantity of it was sent out from England on trial in the first instance, and when that was expended no more could be obtained, as it had not then become an article of commerce in Turkey; nor could arrowroot be procured except in small quantities, but Dr. Hall directed the Purveyor to purchase all he could find, either in the shops in Varna, or on board the different ships in the Bay, and he wrote to Constantinople to desire the article to be purchased in the market if it could be met with, but none could be procured there.

"Essence of beef," says Dr. Hall, "is an admirable preparation on board ship at sea, where neither fresh meat nor poultry can be obtained, or on the line of march, where there is no time to prepare soup for the men, but in a fixed camp, where abundant supplies could be procured in any neighbouring village, and where time and means were at hand to prepare any quantity of either beef-tea or chicken-broth for the cholera patients, there was no reason why such an outcry should have been raised about the want of essence of beef, which was a novel and expensive preparation, and in no way superior to beef-tea or chicken-broth prepared in the ordinary way, which were at all times available."

Great advantage was anticipated both by Military and Medical Officers from the issue of a spirit ration, as a preventive of cholera; but their sanguine expectations were disappointed.

Dr. Hall never saw any advantage derived from the

use of spirits on such occasions, and, although he signed the recommendation as one of a Committee appointed to take the matter into consideration, he did so out of deference to the opinions of others, rather than from any conviction of his own on the subject. "The healthiest Army I ever served with," he wrote in a letter to a friend, "was at the Cape of Good Hope, where the men never tasted either wine, spirits, or malt liquor for many months in succession, and during that service they were frequently exposed without tents or shelter of any kind to wet, cold, and great fatigue. In fact, they were placed in the very positions that the advocates of a spirit ration would have said demanded its issue; and yet without it the sick list seldom amounted to more than 1 per cent., which is as favourable a result as can reasonably be expected on service in the field."

The ration of the soldier in Bulgaria was indifferent so far as the bread and meat were concerned, and deficient in point of condiments. In July, 1854, rice was added to the daily ration on Dr. Hall's recommendation, the ration of meat was also increased from 1 pound to 1½ pound a day, and he suggested that biscuit should be substituted for the sour, ill-baked, heavy bread that was issued to the men. Salt and pepper, which are so essential to health, and which he had recommended to be made a Commissariat supply on account of the difficulty experienced by the men in procuring them, were not provided; and for want of these condiments the men's food, which was sometimes indifferently cooked, was rendered unpalatable, and was eaten without relish.

Too little attention was generally paid to the subject of cooking in the British Army, and at a later period of the campaign Government considerately sent out M. Soyer, a professed cook, to instruct the men in the best mode of preparing their food. He furnished some very useful information, but it was not always acted on by them.

Men are all creatures of habit, and the soldiers pre-

ferred following the mode of cooking they had been accustomed to all their lives to the improved plans proposed by M. Soyer, which, though confessedly good, contained ingredients they could not always procure.

Dr. Hall, writing to Lord Raglan, cautioned Medical Officers against the use of chloroform in the severe shock of serious gunshot wounds, as he thought few would survive where it was used. But as public opinion, founded, perhaps, on " mistaken philanthropy," he knew was against him, he could only caution Medical Officers, and entreat that they would narrowly watch its effects, " for, however barbarous it may appear, the smart of the knife is a powerful stimulant, and it is much better to hear a man bawl lustily than to see him sink silently into the grave."

" When the fortune of war," continued Dr. Hall, " requires a Medical Officer to be kept behind with sick or wounded, he should make it his study to cultivate a good understanding with the Medical Officers of the enemy's Army, as much of the comfort of those under his care will depend upon that.

" During a siege it is useless to expose Medical Officers by sending them into the advanced trenches, where they can be of but comparatively little service. The sick and wounded should be brought to them at some known point of the parallels, where the Engineers should construct such shelter as will protect them and the wounded from the fire of the place, and where they can perform their duties with more composure than is practicable in the open trenches, exposed to shot and shell."

Dr. Hall urged on Lord Raglan the necessity of having steamers set apart and fitted up as hospital ships, to which the latter assented, and the *Andes* and *Cambria*, two vessels ill-calculated for the service, were named by the naval authorities for that purpose, and medical stores, surgeons, and orderlies were put on board of them at Varna. He also recommended that the hospital waggons, Ambulance Corps, and medical equipment for the expedition should be shipped on board of them. But in place

of their being reserved for the purpose for which they had been told off, they were filled with troops and baggage, and were lost sight of, so far as the Medical Department was concerned. The Captain of the *Andes*, feeling indignant at having his ship converted into what he called a hospital, stowed away in the hold of his vessel the medical stores that had been put on board at Varna, and, when the ship was required to take wounded down to Scutari after the Battle of the Alma, he declared to the Admiral that no stores of that kind were on board his ship. Nothing more was heard of them for many months, when they were found in a Regimental baggage-store in Balaklava, with all the cases broken open, and a large portion of their contents lost.

No intimation was given to Dr. Hall by the Quartermaster-General of the precise date and order of embarkation of the Army from Varna for the Crimea; and the consequence was that some ships had several Medical Officers on board, others none; some had medicines and stores, others none. Any effort to remedy these defects during the few hours the vessels remained in the bay after the men were embarked was unsatisfactory and ineffectual.

Some ships with Artillery on board, as they embarked first, were ordered to Baltchick Bay without any medical provision whatever. Cholera broke out on board, and great alarm and confusion was the result.

On the 11th of August Dr. Hall wrote the following letter to the Quartermaster-General on the strength of common camp-gossip, and not on any information furnished to him from that Department, which he conceived ought to have been done immediately the expedition had finally been decided.

"In the event of the Army embarking in force, I beg to state that conveyance will be required for at least 400 tons of medical and Purveyors' stores, beside the waggons, men, and horses of the Ambulance Train;

and it would be convenient, if it could be so arranged, to have the whole shipped on board the vessels that are to be employed as hospital ships."

To this letter he received no answer until the evening of the 26th of August, 1854, and the expedition was intended to sail on the 1st or 2nd of September.

How the Quartermaster-General expected that 400 tons of stores were to be brought down from the depôt at the General Hospital, through the narrow and crowded streets of Varna, and shipped from the equally small, inconvenient, and crowded temporary wharf, without command of either carts or boats, was a mystery, for the Quartermaster-General's Department could afford no assistance in either way.

The Officer who issued the notification could not have duly considered the subject, or he must have seen that it would be utterly impossible for anyone to ship such a quantity of stores within so limited a period with the means of transport at the disposal of the Medical Department. Nor could it have been accomplished had not Dr. Hall, in conversation with Lord Raglan, learnt some days previously that the *John Masterman*, sailing transport, had been appropriated for the conveyance of medical stores ; and when he received the Quartermaster-General's notification more than one-half of the stores were either on board the vessel, or on the wharf ready for shipment.

Arabas (carts) had to be obtained from the Commissariat for this service when they could spare them, and boats from the Agent of Transports as they were available. So that from morning to night it was one scene of bustle, anxiety, and solicitation on the part of the Principal Medical Officer ; and, to add to his embarrassment, no notice was given to him of the dates at which the different Divisions were ordered to march on Varna for embarkation, so that the first intimation he had in some cases was the deposit of numbers of sick in the

Hospital Square; and he found himself unexpectedly called on to make provision for about 2,000 sick, with hospital accommodation for 350. This was accomplished by sending down a portion to Scutari in the *Bombay* and *Mercia* sailing transports, and encamping the remainder, partly on the Galata Heights and partly on the north side of the town of Varna, and making the best provision for their comfort that time and means would admit.

When the Army embarked at Varna, all the sick were left behind, but the women accompanied it, and were a source of difficulty when it reached the Crimea.

To cope with an outbreak of cholera, Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Mackay and Assistant-Surgeon Wishart, were put on board the *Kangaroo,* and one, Assistant-Staff-Surgeon Sylvester, on board the *Dunbar,* which was towed down by the *Kangaroo.* These were as many Medical Officers as it was deemed prudent to detach, at the opening of an active campaign, from a Medical Staff already much reduced by sickness and death, and they were considered sufficient for the voyage to Scutari.

The vessels, though somewhat crowded for sick, could not well be considered so for a passage of thirty-six hours, as each ship had accommodation for a full battalion of men in health. Much was written about the mortality on board these ships, but as only twenty-three died on board the *Kangaroo* and ten on board the *Dunbar,* it can hardly be considered excessive amongst men labouring under cholera in all its stages.

On the 3rd of September Dr. Hall embarked at Varna on board the *Tyrone,* sailing transport, in which he started the next day for Baltchick Bay. After a detention of three days there, he sailed for the Crimea with the whole allied Army, which was conveyed by a fleet and armament of 450 vessels of one kind and another. The fleet arrived at a place called Old Fort, twenty miles south of Eupatoria on the Crimean Coast, on the 14th of September, 1854, when the Infantry disembarked, without either tents or baggage. In the course of the night it

rained heavily, and blew hard, and the men on shore were exposed to the full violence of the storm. Next day, the 15th, there was so heavy a swell on the beach that it was nearly impossible to communicate with the shore, and nothing was landed. On the 16th, the weather having cleared and the surf on the beach gone down, guns and horses were got on shore.

On the 14th of September Dr. Hall went on shore, and on the 15th and 16th was occupied in collecting and despatching the sick to Scutari. It was with difficulty, when the weather moderated, that he got the sick, to the number of 750, put on board the *Kangaroo* steamer and *Dunbar* sailing-vessel, and sent them back to Scutari. On the 17th he landed, and busied himself the whole day, and during the whole of the 18th, in landing stores, and endeavouring to obtain transport for them, which was very limited. The British Army landed in the Crimea with no transport beyond a certain number of baggage ponies for the conveyance of spare ammunition, and about seventy small Maltese carts, which the Commissary-General had brought with him, for the transport of provisions; and had not a battalion of the Rifle Brigade accidentally fallen in with a Russian convoy of provisions proceeding to Sebastopol, and captured 199 small country-carts, the other Departments of the Army must have marched without any transport whatever.

During the period the Army was encamped in Bulgaria, it had a full supply of tent equipage, and the hospitals of the different Regiments were furnished with large hospital marquees, and a proportion of equipment for them; but only after two days—that is, on the 16th—were the tents got on shore, and the men occupied them until the morning of the 19th, when they were re-embarked, there being no means of conveying them on the line of march. The hospital marquees, and their equipment, were also left on board ship for the same reason. The men landed without their knapsacks, and merely took with them their arms, blankets, great-coats, camp-kettles, and

mess-tins, and a few necessaries rolled up in their blankets, which were soon either lost or thrown away; and on the line of march many of the men recklessly threw away both their camp-kettles and blankets, regardless of future consequences. But, marching in even the light order in which they did, many of the men fell out during the first day, the 19th, though the distance to Bulgenack could not have exceeded ten miles. The health of the men, however, had been rudely shaken by disease and the depressing effects of the climate of Bulgaria, so that they were unequal to any prolonged exertion. In this state of predisposition to disease, it was a hazardous experiment to land the Army and commence a campaign without cover, and with such scant means of conveyance as it possessed, as the days were hot and the nights chilly, with heavy dews, alternations at all times very trying, even to men in robust health. There might be, and doubtless were, cogent military reasons for adopting the plan pursued, but looking at it from a merely sanitary point of view, nothing could well be more objectionable than such an experiment on the endurance of the human frame, for there is a point where this gives way, and that was unfortunately overstepped on this occasion.

At Bulgenack on the 19th of September, 1854, the British Army came into collision with the enemy for the first time, and an affair of Cavalry outposts took place, in which three men were wounded by cannon-shot, two of whom required amputation on the spot, and the third had his ankle-joint laid open by a fragment of a shell; a fourth man was disabled by his horse, which was shot, falling on his leg, and bruising it so seriously that it was found necessary to send him to the rear.

The English Army, though so deficient in transport of every kind, took the inland route, and the French and Turkish Armies that along the sea-board.

The distance from the sea at which the British Army marched varied from about two and a half to five miles, and indescribable difficulties were felt in getting the sick

and wounded conveyed down to the beach to be put on board ship for transport to the hospitals at Scutari, a difficulty which continued the whole way from Old Fort to Balaklava, where the Army obtained a seaport and a new base of operations.

On the 20th of September, 1854, the Battle of the Alma was fought, in which 25 Officers and 327 men were killed, and 73 Officers and 1,539 men wounded.

The action commenced at twenty minutes past one, and terminated at a quarter past five; and, as most of the wounds were from round shot and shell, or grape, fired at a short range, they were unusually severe, and many primary operations were required.

The greatest number of wounded were collected in a farmyard in the village, where the main road crosses it. To this men of all Corps were brought, as well as a number of Russian wounded, and it soon obtained the name of the General Hospital.

The pressure was so great from accumulating numbers that Dr. Hall directed the whole yard to be covered deep with hay, and on this the wounded, as they were brought in, were placed in rows, their hurts dressed, and their wants attended to as speedily as it could be done.

Whatever may have been asserted to the contrary, Dr. Hall stated in his diary that no British soldier left that, and, he believed, no other Field Hospital, without having his wounds dressed; and so anxious was he on this point that he placed a Medical Officer at the gate of the farmyard to see that no man was carried out whose wounds had not received attention.

Soon after the action was over it became quite dark, and as the field of battle was intricate and broken, many men were unfortunately left on the ground until the following morning, when a Field Officer's party was ordered out from each Division to collect the wounded that remained, and bury the dead.

On this occasion the want of the ambulance waggons was much felt, both in bringing in the wounded from the

field in the first instance, and in transporting them down to the beach to be put on board ship, a distance of about two miles and a half.

The French lent their ambulance mules one day, and the Admiral sent a party of 500 sailors with cots and hammocks to assist in removing the wounded, or they never could have been transported down to the sea beach in the few wretched country carts they had at their disposal in the short space of two days.

Popular outcry was raised against the Medical Department for want of ambulance conveyance. No steps, however, were taken to make the violator of the Commander-in-Chief's order accountable for the act, but the whole weight of public indignation was allowed to fall on the head of the Principal Medical Officer of the Army, who had done all in his power to obviate the difficulty that had arisen; and no one had a better opportunity than he of witnessing the distressing scenes of misery which occurred on the line of march from Old Fort to Balaklava—scenes alike distressing and humiliating, distressing to witness the piteous condition in which hundreds of sick were left by the wayside without having the means of removing them to the beach for embarkation, and humiliating to be compelled to solicit as a favour from another Department that transport for the sick which ought to have been placed at his own disposal.

The Medical Department was also blamed for the overcrowding of the transports with wounded, but Dr. Hall claimed that on both these counts all unprejudiced persons would acquit it of blame.

When it was found impossible to remove the wounded Russians, Dr. Hall suggested to Lord Raglan that a flag of truce should be sent to Sebastopol for the Russians to send and take charge of them; but his Lordship stated his objection to allowing the enemy a pretext for getting in rear of the Army, which was an unanswerable one, and they were sent to Odessa.

On the 25th the Army made a flank march, and at a

place called Mackenzie's Farm fell in with the rear-guard of a Division of the Russian Army, and captured part of its baggage.

This day the march was about twelve miles, the sun was hot, and the distress of the men very great. Numbers fell out on the line of march, and had to be left by the wayside for want of ambulance conveyance to pick them up. The scene was most distressing, and when the Army reached the Traktyr Bridge on the Tchernaya Valley at night, it was found that it had outstripped its supplies, and, fatigued and parched with thirst, the men had to bivouac as they stood. The following day, the 26th, the Army marched into Balaklava, of which it took possession after a feeble show of resistance made by a garrison of eighty militiamen belonging to the village.

On the arrival of the Army at Balaklava, the public school and a small hospital in the village were appropriated for the accommodation of the sick, who now amounted to nearly 400 men, the greater part of whom were labouring under cholera in one stage or another of the disease.

In a day or two the Army took up its position in front of Sebastopol, and began to make preparation for siege operations. The men were still without their tents, and, as the dews were heavy and the nights chilly, the injurious effects of their remaining without shelter were pointed out to the Commander-in-Chief. Their tents were therefore landed and distributed to them in the course of the first week in October.

On the 1st of October Dr. Hall was ordered down to Scutari at an hour's notice; he arrived there on the 2nd in the *Emperor* steamer. On the 22nd he embarked in the steam transport *Himalaya* for the Crimea, and on the 24th arrived at Balaklava, where he landed.

On the 3rd of October, the Purveyor-General informed the Medical Officers in the Crimea by circular letter that there was no arrowroot, brandy, essence of beef,

sago, or candles in store; and that ground rice, to be procured, would be substituted for arrowroot and sago. Even till late in November the doctors requisitioned in vain for such common stores as candles, castor-oil, preparations of opium and chalk, soup and sago.*

During the month of October, 1854, the weather continued clear and fine, and, although the siege operations imposed an additional amount of labour on the men, they enjoyed better health than they had done for the two preceding months. All were animated with hope, as it had been confidently asserted that the place must fall in a few days after the batteries were opened, and everyone looked forward with impatience to the speedy consummation of the grand object of the expedition. The failure on the 17th did not shake the sanguine expectations of some, but it gave rise to serious reflections in the minds of others, though no one ever dreamt at that time that the Army would have to winter in front of Sebastopol, and carry on siege operations—a service for which it was most inadequately provided, and which, many thought, ought not to have been undertaken at that season of the year.

The ground occupied by the English Army in front of Sebastopol extended from the heights of Inkerman on the right to the picket-house ravine on the left. It was elevated and dry, and had a southern aspect; the supply of water was ample and good, and, from a sanitary point of view, nothing could well have been urged against the locality, although it subsequently became the theatre of much misery, sickness, and mortality from other causes. The camp was protected in front by the elevated crest of the plateau, from which the ground sloped down to the harbour; and it was intersected by deep ravines, which served as natural drains to the higher ground.

The whole Army in front of Sebastopol suffered from much sickness during the winter of 1854-55, from excessive

* *The Crimea in* 1854-94, by General Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C. (1895), p. 174.

duty, privations and exposure. The only exception to this was a wing of the 68th Regiment, which formed the Headquarters guard. These men had the advantage of light duty and house shelter, and, although they were clothed and fed in the same manner as the rest of the Army in front, they suffered little or no sickness, which proves that it was the duty and exposure that occasioned so much mortality, and not only the diet, which was brought prominently forward by certain parties as the main exciting cause of disease amongst the men.

Some other experiences of the early part of the campaign may be narrated here. In the English Press of October, 1854, there appeared an account of the wounded Russians who, after an engagement, were left upon the field. In order to look after their wounds an English Surgeon was left behind with these 750 men. This most painful and desolate duty devolved on Dr. Thomson of the 44th Regiment. Provided with some rum, biscuit and salt meat, he was left alone with his charge.

Dr. Thomson and his soldier servant deserve to be held up as heroes. For four or five days they, and they alone, had to wait upon and support the enormous mass of severely wounded men. The task was in many respects a most dangerous one. The patients themselves were not to be trusted. The Cossacks might also at any time have made prisoners of them on the retreat of the Allied Armies. The dead were festering in heaps around the sick and dying. These two men had frequently to bury a horrid mass of carcases and fragments before they could get at some poor wounded wretches. In this way they must, with their own hands, have dragged out and buried some 200. There was no food of any kind for the sick, so the soldier managed to drive in a stray bullock, and with the aid of some Russian convalescents (their misfortunes seem to have made them fraternize) he killed it and made some soup for them. At length Her Majesty's ships *Albion*, *Vesuvius*, and the screw transport *Avon* arrived. The whole crew of the first landed and removed the

wounded on board the *Avon*, while the *Vesuvius* guarded the shore. In the midst of this humane occupation a Russian force of some 4,000 or 5,000 men approached the village, and the sailors were obliged to hasten on board, as it was beyond the range of the ship's guns. However, 340 were put on board the *Avon* under the charge of their heroic preservers, Dr. Thomson and his servant. About forty were left behind, and many of these poor fellows, who had previously seemed unable to walk, endeavoured with all their might to hobble after their more fortunate companions. The next day the *Avon* proceeded with them to Odessa. "Now, surely, when the Humane Society rewards a man who saves one single individual, that Society will not fail to do something for two men who, under such dreadful trials, saved the lives of 340," wrote Dr. Hall to his wife.

Intelligence was subsequently received that Dr. Thomson died from cholera.

The following letter appeared in the *Sun* newspaper in London on the 11th of October:

"SCUTARI,
"*September 28th.*

"We have got to Scutari at last, but I thought we should not have brought any men at all, as the men kept, during the voyage, quickly dying of their wounds. There were only three Surgeons on board to dress and look after 600 men. England has a great deal to answer for in not having sufficient medical men to attend the wounded soldiers, who risked their lives and bled for their country's honour. I never had my arm looked to by a doctor from the day I received the wound till yesterday, but, thank God, from previous experience, I was able to look after it myself, and the wounds of others also. During our stay on board the ship many a bright man lost his life through want of medical attendance: we threw about 80 to 100 overboard coming down the Black Sea, but it is just as bad at

Scutari. We disembarked on the 26th, and we have neither tea, rations, nor anything else except half a pound of bread.

"There was a draft of 300 men to have sailed to-day for the Crimea, but it was countermanded. I hear there are no more troops wanted in the Crimea, as Sebastopol is all but down, but I cannot vouch for the truth of it.

"We lost about 168 men in our Regiment, and the British Army about 1,200 or 1,300 altogether. Good-bye."

Soon after the Army had taken up its position, and commenced siege operations against Sebastopol, two redoubts were built on conical hills about a mile and a half in front of Kadekoi, which were armed with heavy guns and occupied by Turkish troops. On the 25th of October, 1854, a Division of the Russian Army attacked these redoubts and captured them; it then advanced on Kadekoi, and the gallant, but disastrous, engagement of Balaklava ensued. In that affair 12 Officers and 101 men were killed, and 25 Officers and 211 men wounded; 2 Officers and fifty-five men were returned missing, making a total of 406 casualties out of a force of 2,639 men, the greater part of which, however, occurred in the Light Cavalry Brigade that charged the enemy's guns with great bravery, but was driven back with heavy loss.

On the 26th of October the enemy made a sortie from Sebastopol, with about 6,000 men, on the right of the British line at Inkerman, which was gallantly repulsed by the 2nd Division under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir de Lacy Evans, with a loss of 11 men killed and 7 Officers and 85 men wounded. Dr. Hall gives a detailed account of this in his diary.

The effect of these two days' vigorous operations on the part of the enemy, and the circumstance of their having established themselves in the captured redoubts in front of Kadekoi, was to create a feeling of apprehension in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief, as the

Cavalry Division, which had been so roughly handled on the 25th, was moved nearer at first, and finally on to the plateau in front of Sebastopol, which was now defended by a ditch and breastwork along the crest of the heights from Inkerman to Kadekoi, and orders were given for all the Medical and Commissariat stores to be put on board ship as speedily as possible, and the sick and wounded to be shipped off for Scutari at once.

This sudden breaking-up of the hospitals occasioned great inconvenience, without, so far as the uninitiated could judge, any good and sufficient reason for so hasty a movement.

As examples of the kind of complaints that were carried direct to the Commander-in-Chief, independently of those which reached him in graphic letters from the pseudo-philanthropists who swarmed about the hospitals at Scutari, and in despatches from the home authorities, Dr. Hall mentions one or two :

"The day before the unsuccessful assault on the Redan, on the 18th of June, 1855, all other arrangements, I presume, being considered complete, an Officer of rank went down to the Purveyor's store at Balaklava, to inquire if there were any wooden legs, and finding there were none, which was not surprising, as they are never kept there, he made a report of the circumstance to the Commander-in-Chief, and I was sent for by Lord Raglan and questioned on the subject. My answer was that I could not say exactly from memory what number of wooden legs the apothecary, whose business it was to take charge of such articles, had in his store at Balaklava, but it was a matter of little moment, as I knew there were plenty at Scutari, from whence they could easily be obtained if required, and I need scarcely remind his Lordship that we could not cut off a natural leg and clap on a wooden substitute at once. His Lordship smiled, and said, 'Of course not,' and there the matter ended.

BATTLE OF INKERMAN.

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"On another occasion some one wrote home, in Miss Nightingale's name, to the *Times* newspaper, but I believe without her authority, stating that lint and bandages were still wanted in the hospitals at Scutari, and inviting charitably disposed persons to send their contributions to a house in Paternoster Row, which was named.

"When this appeared, Lord Raglan called on me for an explanation, and I was enabled to inform him from returns in my possession that, at the very time when the letter appeared in the *Times*, there were 900 old sheets and 3,750 pounds of lint in store at Scutari.

"The question of old linen was an absurdity from the beginning, and many families in England, I dare say, deprived themselves, from the best and most charitable feelings, of articles of this kind, which were sent out to rot in the stores at Scutari; and when the Army left Turkey, only 7s. 6d. a ton, I understand, was offered for them as paper stuff. This was one of the delusions of the day, but there were others of a more expensive nature which the Government had to pay for, without their contributing materially to the efficiency of the Medical Department."

On the 5th of November, 1854, the enemy took advantage of a wet foggy morning to attack the right of the English line at Inkerman, with a force of between 50,000 and 60,000 men, which was resisted by about 8,000 British in the first instance, aided subsequently by about as many French under command of General Bosquet, and after a desperate struggle of between five and six hours' hard fighting, much of which was hand to hand, the bloody Battle of Inkerman was won, in which the English had 43 Officers and 589 men killed, and 100 Officers and 1,778 men wounded. One Officer and 62 men were returned missing, making a total of 2,573 casualties, or 32 per cent. of the force engaged. Dr. Hall was present during the battle.

The loss of the French was not known at the time, but

that of the enemy was very severe, as about 5,000 bodies were left on the field.

On this occasion the ambulance waggons again did good service, and the wounded were all collected, dressed, and under cover at an early hour of the evening. Measures were taken to ship off the greater part of them in the course of a few days to the General Hospital at Scutari.

After the Battle of Inkerman the unpleasant truth was forced on the Commander-in-Chief's mind that the Army would have to winter in the Crimea. But Dr. Hall asserts that he was never told where the Army was to winter, and where it would be proper for him to make preparations for the sick and wounded.

In Mr. Delane's life, by Mr. Dasent, (vol. i., p. 196) it is mentioned that, when he returned to England from the Crimea at the beginning of October, he immediately told the Duke of Newcastle that a winter campaign was imminent, and urged the provision of wooden tents to be made up at Constantinople; but the Cabinet was too optimistic to take the advice. It was only when Mr. W. H. Russell's letters describing the deplorable condition of the troops in the Crimea produced their inevitable effect upon the mind of the nation that serious attempts were made to remedy the administrative deficiencies of the past six months.

It was strongly, and perhaps ungenerously, stated by some on whom no responsibility rested, and by others who reported after the difficulties were surmounted, that the executive Officers in the Crimea were wanting in capacity and ordinary foresight, and that affairs there might, and ought, to have been much better managed than they were. This may be true in some cases, but to underrate difficulties such as the British Army had to contend with in the Crimea during the winter of 1854 is like a man being brave and despising the dangers and hardships of war when seated by his own comfortable fireside at home. It is to be regretted that those who wrote so disparagingly of the abilities of others

had not an opportunity afforded them of testing their own fancied superior administrative talents. Had they made the essay, they would in all probability have been more guarded and charitable in their comments on others.

With November the weather changed, and, from being clear and dry, it became wet and tempestuous, which crowned the Army's misfortunes, for on the 14th of the month a storm such as is seldom seen even in that tempestuous region added to the violence of the elements. It caused great loss and destruction of property, both ashore and afloat. These inclement conditions brought back cholera, which attacked the recruits and newly arrived Regiments, and proved very destructive. The official returns of the sick in the First Division, reported by Dr. Linton, Deputy-Surgeon of Hospitals, showed for November, 1854, a considerable increase of sickness during that month as compared with that of October, attributable, according to the reports of the different Medical Officers of the Division, partly to the great amount of duty the men had to perform, and partly to the constant exposure to wet and cold, their clothes having scarcely been dry since the 14th; the want of sufficient time and means for cooking; and, lastly, their flimsy habitations, the tents affording sufficient protection neither from wet nor cold.

This increase of sickness was chiefly in bowel-complaints, cholera, diarrhœa, and dysentery; some cases of moist gangrene of the toes occurred. The first four complaints for the most part affected Regiments and drafts lately arrived in the country.

The cholera was more attributable to exposure to wet and cold than to epidemic influences. In corroboration of this it may be stated that the 42nd and 79th Highlanders, both of which had passed through an ordeal in Bulgaria and on their way to the Crimea, became quite healthy again until they were directed to occupy an exposed ridge 700 feet above the level of the sea, when

they were again attacked, while those of the 93rd Highlanders, who were encamped at the foot of the hill and in comparative shelter, escaped the disease. It generally ran a rapid course, and collapse quickly ensued. Indeed, in many instances the patient was brought to hospital in this state, and such cases were too frequently fatal.

The appearance of scurvy was ascribed more to the want of a proper admixture of vegetables than to the lack of fresh meat. Diarrhœa was much more extensive than appeared on the face of the returns, as perhaps fully 100 men on an average in each Regiment of the First Brigade laboured under it while they continued at their duty. The cases of dysentery, too, were of a graver character, many of them proving fatal.

There was much variation in the exact amount of duty performed by the men. Each battalion and Regiment performed its task independently, and its amount depended chiefly on the situation and camp, strength, etc. While some supplied trench and covering parties, others were employed on strengthening the position in the rear, on outpost duty and fatigues, etc., but all admitted that they were overworked, that often when in the trenches they were so overcome with fatigue and sleep that it was almost impossible to arouse them on any account. The Grenadier Guards had about three nights out of seven in bed. The Fusilier Guards were half on duty during the day and one-third at night, independent of furnishing fatigue parties, and the 97th Regiment had 235 men on duty daily, causing the men to be out of their beds two nights in succession.

During the early part of November the troops had fresh meat every other day, but during the latter part they were entirely confined to salt meat; their duties were so arduous that very little time could be spared for cooking. Fuel was difficult to obtain, water was distant and muddy, and, lastly, their camp kettles had almost wholly been lost or destroyed, obliging them to cook separately each in his own canteen.

The weather became cold and boisterous on the 9th, with heavy rains on the 11th. On the 14th there was a complete hurricane, as has been already mentioned, which left not a tent standing, and the men, one and all, remained exposed to its violence for many hours. This ended towards evening in sleet and snow, after which high winds and rains continued with great vehemence. The country became literally flooded, the different camps were more than ankle-deep, and even the interior of the tents, which were not impervious to wet, were covered with thick mud. The men's clothes were scarcely ever dry, and even their blankets and great-coats in which they slept were completely saturated with wet. On several occasions the temperature was below freezing-point; but the men were still without their winter clothing, although it was expected daily, and many of them were minus shirts and stockings.

The tents were anything but a sufficient protection against the inclement weather, and were likely to be much less so during the extreme cold of the approaching months; unless the men were more warmly clothed, better housed, more regularly fed, and their strength less overtaxed by duty, the amount of sickness and mortality was expected to be greatly increased.

The report for the same month from Staff-Surgeon J. Marshall, in medical charge of the Second Division, was to the same effect. The prevailing complaints could easily be accounted for from the severe fatigue duties imposed on the men, their exposure night and day to wet and cold, their miserably imperfect clothing, eating half-cooked rations, and having on an average only two nights during the week in bed, added to their living in bell-tents, which did not afford proper shelter at this season of the year.

The duties of the men were guards, picket duty, covering and working parties and fatigue duties—the covering parties, guards, and picket remaining on duty for twenty-four hours, the working parties for eight; and the fatigue duties in camp were constant and laborious.

The ration consisted of 16 ounces of biscuit; 16 ounces of salt pork or beef, or a ration of fresh meat whenever it could be procured; sugar, 1¾ ounces; coffee, 1 ounce (raw); rice, 2 ounces; and 2 ounces of rum twice a day, with an extra 2 ounces when on picket or working duty. These rations were issued daily, and were excellent in quality. The quantity of sugar issued might with great advantage have been increased. The issue of coffee in the raw state was much to be regretted, considering the short time the men had for roasting it, and the very imperfect means (generally between two stones, or beating it with a tent-mallet) of crushing it which were at their disposal. An issue of tea or cocoa in place of coffee under these circumstances would have been infinitely better. Vegetables were issued during the month to a small extent, and with great benefit. The means of cooking were totally inadequate, as has been already mentioned; the small canteen of each individual had to be used for everything; fire, wood, and water were obtained with great labour, and there was no shelter for the men cooking. The rations had to be eaten half-cooked, and sometimes, during heavy rain, raw, as the men could not keep in their fires.

Even at the end of November Surgeon Marshall's report showed no improvement. The men having landed without knapsacks, it was nearly the end of the month before they reached the Division; consequently the men had no other clothing but what they landed in, many being almost without boots or stockings, the trousers torn, the great-coat often nearly useless and in shreds. But even with the knapsack the clothing of the soldier was miserably insufficient for duty in the field, and especially the kind of duty required, for which an oiled cloth cape similar to those worn by the London police would have been a very useful article of dress. From having no change of dress, the men had to allow their wet clothes to dry on their bodies, and from the late incessant rain men had been wet through and through for days together.

From these continued hardships a large proportion of the men were so worn out as to be incapable of any very long or continuous exertion. This was a melancholy but unquestionable fact, and there was fear that, unless some alteration were made, it would take but a short time to reduce the Division to a mere skeleton by death and disease. Two changes of very warm winter clothing, proper houses or huts, and firewood or fuel were most urgently required, and, if possible, some mitigation in their duties.

A similar summary of the exciting causes of disease in the Light Division was furnished for November by Dr. T. Alexander,* First-Class Staff-Surgeon, in medical charge, who wrote from the camp above Sebastopol. He considered the causes to be want of rest, harassing and continual duties, continual exposure to cold and wet in the trenches, and picket during the very inclement weather (nearly the whole month having been wet), insufficiently nutritious food, from the want of fuel to cook the same, and insufficient clothing, many of the men being almost bootless, and in rags, and having only one miserable worn-out blanket, this being most days full of mud. This state of things was reported, but neither fuel nor the extra blanket, etc., had been issued.

That the duty the men had had to perform was too harassing and severe was proved by the following facts: In the 7th Fusiliers men were in the trenches twenty-four hours without relief, up to or about the 17th of November; on the 14th two companies were kept on picket for thirty-six hours, when, of course, no cooking took place. In

* According to a "Return of the Medical Officers attached to the Forces" (furnished to the House of Commons), he was the junior of the first twelve Deputy-Inspector-Generals, and nineteen years junior to Dr. Hall in date of appointment. He gave evidence at the subsequent inquiries—the Select Committee of the House of Commons and the Army Military Inquiry at Chelsea—and Dr. W. H. Russell stated in his book, *The Crimea*, 1854-55, p. 4, that he "visited the hospitals in company with Surgeon Alexander, afterwards Director-General of the Army Medical Department" ("Accounts and Papers, 1854-55," vol. xxxii., p. 431: Army; Commissariat; Ordnance).

the 19th Regiment the total number of hours in November was 720; 304 were performed by the men, either on duty in the trenches, or on picket, which was ten hours daily for each man, the remaining fourteen being passed in bringing water, seeking for fuel, cooking, and other duties, etc. In the 23rd Fusiliers the average return gave to each man one night in camp and one on duty. Many men, however, had to go on duty with their companies two or three nights running, doing twenty-four hours duty to twelve hours in camp.

In the 33rd Regiment the men, on an average, were something less than one night in their tents, without water and fuel fatigues, when off duty. They were in consequence weak and wasted from the incessant and severe duty.

In the 77th Regiment the men were either in the trenches or on outlying pickets every night, besides guards, etc., in the intervening days.

In the 88th Regiment no man was more than one night in three in his tent, had then twelve hours in the trenches and twenty-four hours on picket, then looking after wood for cooking, water, etc.

In the Rifle Brigade, the right wing, consisting of four companies, furnished during twenty-seven days of November nineteen duties, sixteen of which were night duties, extending over a period of 408 hours, and on an average of two and a half companies on duty daily, of fifteen hours' duration for the twenty-seven days, or twenty-one and a half hours on each duty. This shows an average of nine hours daily off duty. The company was five out of six nights on duty—three companies seven nights out of nine. These facts proved the harassing duties the men had to perform, and, when not on duty, most of their time that ought to have been devoted to rest was spent in collecting brushwood for cooking, water, etc. Had cooking-places been erected and a few weakly men told off for cooks, with proper cooking utensils, fuel, etc., so that men on coming from the trenches or picket, cold and

wet, could have had at once some hot coffee, soup, etc., they would have been then enabled to go to their tents and get some rest, instead of attempting to light some miserable fire to make a cup of coffee or cook their victuals. The consequence was that in many instances the meat was eaten either half-cooked or raw, which was one of the principal causes of so many being on the sick-list.

Tents were totally insufficient protection against this and the approaching cold season, so that, if the Army was to be available and efficient, huts for the men with cooking-places ought at once to have been erected, with an issue of fresh and proper cooking utensils, sufficiently warm clothing, with extra blankets, and less harassing duties. Dr. Alexander expressed his fear that, should such suggestions not at once be acted upon, which he had several times previously recommended, great as the sick list and mortality had been, both would soon be much increased, and the Army ere long be rendered totally insufficient.

Dr. Hall was not without encouragement during this trying time. He received the following letter from Sir James McGrigor, the head of the Medical Department in London:

"3, HARLEY STREET,
"LONDON,
"*November 21st*, 1854.

"Many thanks for your kind letter of the 19th of August. Since that letter was written I have spared you by abstaining from writing you, knowing how entirely your time is taken up with your public duties. You will readily believe how sensibly I felt the censure cast on the Department by the General Order of Lord Raglan. I regret it from the bottom of my heart, as, from long knowledge of his Lordship, I feel a conviction that it came from him in a moment of irritation when he was suddenly disappointed by events occurring in other and higher quarters, as from much intercourse with his Lord-

ship during a period of thirty years I have formed a high opinion of his discretion, as well as of his kindly feelings to the Medical Officers in particular. I therefore look forward to the period when his Lordship will do ample justice to the Officers of the Department. The position in which he has been placed is a most difficult and delicate one—more difficult, perhaps, than that in which any British General Officer has ever been placed. I was sorry to learn that your health had suffered, but I hope you will be able to tell me that you are now perfectly recovered."

Dr. Menzies, serving under Dr. Hall at Scutari, wrote to him as follows:

"SCUTARI,
"*December 8th*, 1854.

"I have the pleasure to reply to your last note of the 24th ult., and, with respect to your various inquiries, I may inform you in the first place that our hospitals here are in first-rate order as regards cleanliness and comfort, and this opinion has been expressed in my hearing by various Officers of our own and the Naval Service who visited us. I may also state that Lord William Paulet, on his first inspection visit to-day at the General Hospital, was also pleased to acknowledge that the establishment was in most satisfactory order, and very different from what he had been led to expect. Miss Nightingale's testimony is no less valuable, since she has visited most of the hospitals in Europe. She stated on her arrival here that, after all she had heard, she was surprised at the regularity and comfort which appeared in every one of our wards. There is, however, an Officer whose name I must not mention who seems to have a different opinion and will give no credit to our exertions, and Dr. Spence's loss at a time like the present is certainly a great one, for he was one who would do justice to all concerned. However, the time will come, I hope, when facts will speak for themselves, and I can only assure you that I have no fear for

the strictest inquiry, and no anxiety respecting the part which I myself have performed, and also that of the Medical Officers under me, who have one and all in these trying circumstances fulfilled their duty conscientiously and with the utmost zeal and devotion. The filth you allude to in the galleries produced by the Officers' servants has been a great source of annoyance to all, and I believe the only remedy for its perfect removal would be that of the Officers and servants leaving. We have done as much to remedy this as possible, but your experiences will make you aware that there is much difficulty experienced in preventing the accumulation of filth, which, after being removed, immediately collects from the constant passing and re-passing of Officers' servants. The other parts of the hospital, both passages and wards, are in a perfect state of cleanliness, and I should say, when you pay us a visit, which I hope will be soon, you will be satisfied with our condition. I may add the wounded in this hospital are progressing well, if I may except about twenty-four cases of hospital gangrene, which are treated in a separate ward in the upper division of the hospital, and the cases of which generally terminate favourably under the use of the remedies I formerly mentioned. In consequence of a recent communication from the Director-General, of which I enclose you a copy, we are giving an extensive trial to the internal use of the tincture of muriate of iron, the result of which I shall have an opportunity of forwarding to you at some future period in detailed report. A word or two about the nurses. These consist of the best females of this calling from the different hospitals in England, and I think they are useful, more particularly in washing the faces and hands of such as are badly wounded, and shifting their linen; but the number of them is too limited for us to form an opinion of their general efficiency when permanently forming a part of the hospital establishment. I mentioned before that the Commission has commenced its labours, and that Second-Class Staff-Surgeon Laing had been fixed upon in place of

First-Class Staff-Surgeon McAllen, originally named to supply the place of poor Dr. Spence; the disappointment to McAllen, being a man with a large family, and the allowance granted for the performance of the duty being about three hundred pounds to each, is very great. Mr. Cumming thought he could not be spared from his Divisional duties at the barracks. I am rather amused at Dr. Marshall applying for the vacancy. I quite agree in all you say as to the manner we have been treated by the Military authorities, and never was the Purveying Department so ill-provided for the sudden and large influx of sick and wounded that took place after the affair at Alma. Even now we are deficient in the number of clerks necessary, and the ward is as useless as ever. So it need not be wondered at that so much confusion and trouble should arise in the arrangements of this Department, and which is, indeed, the only one that has been my chief trouble here. As to our medical stores, we were never absolutely in want of those necessary articles required, although we have had to apply to the Turkish apothecary for several medicines, owing to the non-arrival of our own supplies latterly. I send you copies of letters addressed to me, that you may observe the nature of the information they require from me, and which I am now preparing to give them. I fear you must be exposed to much discomfort in the field."

This Dr. Menzies, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals and Principal Medical Officer at Scutari, fell so ill that it was necessary to invalid him. His health and strength were so much impaired by the great mental and bodily exertion required of him in his position that the Medical Officers at the hospital considered a cessation from all professional duty and a change of climate to be really necessary for his recovery. His ill-health had arisen from constant labour at the desk, and the anxiety attending the harassing nature of his duties for the three previous months; he had constantly been advised to apply for

leave to proceed to England for his recovery, but had avoided taking that step in consequence of the position he occupied. He reluctantly felt obliged to apply to Dr. Hall for a Medical Board, as his health was not equal to the performance of his duties. He was overworked, like all the Medical Officers employed in the Crimean War.

About the middle of December the fearful cholera scourge subsided altogether, and was followed by scorbutic diarrhœa and dysentery; and they, again, were succeeded in February and March, 1855, by typhoid fever, the natural result of privations, exposure, and excessive duty. In the month of February, the men's condition having been ameliorated, their health began to improve, and they regained their usual spirits; and before the Army quitted the Crimea it had attained a state of health and efficiency that is seldom witnessed on service in the field. At first the heavy, incessant rain broke up the roads, or, more correctly speaking, cart-tracks, to Balaklava, and soon rendered them totally impassable for wheeled carriages of almost every description.

The heavy ambulance waggons speedily became useless, and the mules died from exposure and want of proper care. The Commissariat transport failed almost entirely, and the men at one time during the month of December, 1854, had to fetch their own rations from Balaklava, in addition to their other heavy duties. They were miserably clad, badly shod, inadequately sheltered from the weather, indifferently fed, and fearfully overworked. The rations, which were good of their kind, the men had scant means of cooking, and the salt pork was sometimes eaten raw. Fuel was so scarce and difficult to obtain that they were unable either to dry their wet clothes or warm themselves when they came off duty; and personal cleanliness was wholly unattended to, as most of them, up to the month of December, 1854, wore the same shirts and clothes which they had landed in at Old Fort on the 14th of September. Their persons were covered with vermin, and they had an appearance of squalid misery

that no British Army, it is to be hoped, will ever exhibit again. The duty was at one time so severe that the men were twelve hours in the trenches and twelve hours out of them; no wonder, therefore, that disease of an aggravated form seized on them, borne down as they were by so much misery.

As men fell sick there were none to replace them, and the additional duty had to be performed by their comrades, until at last the sick outnumbered the well; and, had not the French relieved the English of a portion of their trench work, the British Army in the Crimea would have melted entirely away. As it was, there were at one time 12,000 sick, and, according to the Adjutant-General's returns, not more than 11,000 Infantry doing duty, and of these two-thirds, from their wretched appearance, could not have been refused admittance into hospital had they presented themselves as sick.

It would have required an effective Army of 50,000 men to have carried out properly the siege operations which were undertaken by the English with about half that number, and even that half was at one period reduced by disease and the casualties of war to one-fourth.

The inevitable result of such a state of things could easily be predicted, but it was a question of either abandoning the siege altogether, or carrying it on at a certain sacrifice of human life. Dr. Hall believed this to have been the cruel position in which the authorities were placed, for two kinder or more humane men than Lord Raglan and General Estcourt never existed.

Many curious and exaggerated accounts of wants and deficiencies thus got into circulation, and amongst the rest there was the following in a book* published by Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent in the Crimea: "Here is a special fact for Dr. Smith, the head of the British Medical Department. A Surgeon of a Regiment stationed on the cliffs above Balaklava, who has about forty sick

* *The War: from the Landing at Gallipoli to the Death of Lord Raglan*, p. 323, by W. H. Russell. London, 1855.

out of 200 men, has been applying to the 'authorities' in the town for the last three weeks for medicines, all simple and essential, and cannot get one of them. The list he sent in was returned with the observation, 'We have none of these medicines in store.' To-day (the 25th of January, 1855) this poor Surgeon, too, came down with his last appeal: 'Do, I beg of you, give me any medicine you have for diarrhœa.' '*We haven't any.*' 'Anything you may have, I'll take.' '*We haven't any.*' 'Have you any medicine for fever you can give? Anything you can let me have, I'll take.' '*We haven't any.*' 'I have a good many cases of rheumatism among my men; can you let me have any medicines for them?' '*We haven't any.*' Thus for fever, rheumatism, and diarrhœa, the most prevalent complaints of the Army, there were no specifics whatever, and the Surgeon returned up the hillside with the bitter reflection that he could give no aid to the unfortunate men under his care. Can any one of these '*facts*' I have stated be denied? Certainly not by anyone who regards the truth, and who is not a shameless utterer of falsehoods. Dr. Smith can prove, no doubt, that there are granaries full of the finest and costliest drugs and medicines for fever, rheumatism, and diarrhœa at Scutari, but the knowledge that they are there little avails poor fellows dying here for want of them."

Mr. Russell assumed as fact that which was told to him, and challenged a denial, which may be safely given to this Surgeon's tale, which bears an absurdity on the very face of it. In the first place, Dr. Hall stated that Medical Officers do not, or at least ought not to, trust to the judgment of the medical storekeepers, to say what is fit for the treatment of this or that form of disease; and in the next, though there may have been a want of opium in substance, and some other few articles of medicine, Dr. Hall denied that the medical store was ever in the destitute condition here represented; and at the time when the applications were stated to have been made and Mr. Russell's report was written, it could not possibly have been the case,

because, to say nothing of the receipt of stores, and the arrival at Balaklava of all the Regimental medicine chests of the Army in December, 1854, additional supplies of medicine were received from Scutari on the 3rd, 7th, and 20th of January, 1855. So that either the Surgeon who gave the information to Mr. Russell, or the medical storekeeper, must have made a statement strangely at variance with truth. But at that time individuals were on the watch for opportunities of what was called speaking out, or how otherwise could this Surgeon's conduct be explained in running to the acknowledged correspondent of an influential journal with his complaint and grievance, in place of applying to the head of his own Department for redress and assistance? But that, he knew, was not the road to notoriety, as in all probability, had he so applied, his wants would have been supplied from one source or another, most likely from his own Regimental medicine chest, as by that time they had all reached the Crimea, and notice was given to all the Divisions on the 2nd of January, 1855, that they were in store at Balaklava, and that Medical Officers could have them at any time. In the same memorandum it was intimated to Medical Officers that a supply of opium in substance had been received from Scutari, and they were invited to supply themselves at once with what they required.

There was a want of opium in substance on December 4, 1854, as Dr. Alexander mentioned in his evidence before the McNeill and Tulloch Commission; but he forgot to tell the Commissioners that on the 1st of December he had received a supply of powdered opium, and on the 9th of the same month a further supply was issued to him, making a total of 2 pounds 9 ounces of that drug, which was issued to the Light Division during the December quarter, besides 14 pounds 6 ounces of laudanum, and 5 pounds 2 ounces of solution of morphine, equal in strength to laudanum.

Returns of the receipt and issue of Purveyors' stores and medical comforts contradicted the erroneous state-

ments which were so industriously circulated concerning the wants of the Army.

It was the fashion of the day to decry the English hospitals and mode of management, and contrast them with those of the French Army; but at the worst of times the French hospitals in the Crimea were never in a much better condition than the British, with the exception of their ambulance conveyance, which they had very wisely brought with them; and latterly they were very far inferior in every respect—a fact which their own Medical Officers frankly admitted, and expressed their anxiety to adopt the despised English system of hospital management, considering it far superior to their own in many particulars.

Fixed hospitals, Dr. Hall thought, ought to contain every comfort and convenience essentially necessary for the proper and effectual treatment of the sick; but even there, he considered, efforts were made to introduce refinements not essential to the cure of disease, and foreign to the habits of soldiers—such, for instance, as looking-glasses, hair and tooth brushes, and spring-wire easy-chairs covered with morocco leather—which contributed certainly to their comfort and personal ease, as did jams and jellies to the pleasures of their palate; but eau-de-Cologne and lavender-water, being articles of mere refinement and luxury, he considered unnecessary for military hospital practices, and refused to sanction their purchase when they were applied for.

The Army was inconsiderately landed in the Crimea, and ordered to undertake the arduous and perilous duties of a winter campaign without either magazines or reserves of men. Hence all the difficulties and sufferings which were experienced during the early part of the winter. Gigantic efforts were immediately made by the home authorities to remedy the mistakes that had been committed, and these were seconded by the strenuous endeavours of the executive Officers on the spot; but they obtained little credit for their labours. Days of toil and privation, and nights of anxiety and misery, were re-

warded with public obloquy, in place of sympathy and commiseration, which they had a right to expect; and persons who never encountered any difficulties wrote readily on Army arrangements, boasted what they would have done under similar circumstances, and denounced all those who were engaged in the Crimea as imbecile. It is one thing to write thus, but quite another thing to provide for the daily wants of a large Army, situated as the British Army was on the plateau in front of Sebastopol during the winter of 1854-55, when, as has been seen, a large supply of stores was lost in the hurricane of the 14th of November. Storage on shore could not be obtained for those that subsequently arrived, and want of transport rendered it almost impossible to get them conveyed to the front.

Every effort was made, at the beginning of the winter of 1854-55, to obtain accommodation for the rapidly increasing number of sick in the Crimea, and, in addition to the hospital marquees and bell-tents which the different Regiments had in their possession, application was made for some stores and sheds in a sheltered village called Karani, about a mile and a half in rear of the Cavalry camp, which the Commissariat had taken possession of for their mules and drivers. To this application, which was dated the 15th of November, 1854, Mr. Filder, Commissary-General, wrote a strong remonstrance, stating that if the mules were deprived of this shelter they would all perish, and a preference was given to them over the sick soldiers; but even this did not preserve them, as the greater part of them perished soon after the inclement weather of winter set in.

Application was then made to have huts for the sick excavated similar to those used by the Turks and Russians, but neither labour to dig the ground, nor timber to roof in the excavations, could be obtained, so the project fell to the ground, Lord Raglan having given orders that the first arrival of timber should be employed for sheltering the Cavalry horses.

Dr. Hall next applied to have all the unoccupied houses in Balaklava and Kadekoi given up for the occupation of the sick. At Kadekoi the church and three small houses were handed over for the use of the sick of the Highland Brigade, but in Balaklava every house, except the one set apart for Lord Raglan, was occupied by Turkish sick.

When the Army first took possession of Balaklava there was a building at the public school which had been converted into a hospital, but which he was anxious to get roofed in, to extend the accommodation; and as all the material was on the spot, nothing but labour was required; yet this he could not obtain, although he made repeated applications for it, and it was not until the month of January, 1855, when, Lord Raglan having visited the hospital, Dr. Hall drew his attention to the subject, that he ordered the repairs to be immediately done, which showed that no real difficulty existed in accomplishing that which he had made so many fruitless efforts to obtain.

Finding that there was difficulty in obtaining accommodation for the sick on shore, he applied, on the 24th of November, 1854, to have a large transport called the *Pride of the Ocean*, which had been damaged in the hurricane of the 14th of that month, cleared of her wreck, moored near the shore, and converted into a receiving hulk. This, after some delay, was carried into effect by the Agent of Transports.

On the 2nd of March, 1855, Dr. Hall reported to Lord Raglan the removal of 100 patients from the General Hospital at Balaklava to the convalescent establishment on the plateau of the old castle overlooking the sea, and he hoped with more huts to increase the accommodation to serve for 400 to 500 convalescents there, instead of sending them to Scutari. He described the advantages offered by this situation, and the low mortality at the Balaklava General Hospital. The *Times* published his report (the 21st of March, 1855, p. 10), and on the same day some evidence given by Dr. A. Smith to the Commission "on the state of the Army before Sebastopol"

regarding the exertions made by the Medical authorities to supply medicines to the camp.

As soon as the wooden huts arrived, Dr. Hall made application to have ten of them erected in the vineyard in front of the General Hospital at Balaklava, and an equal number on the plateau just mentioned. The latter establishment was subsequently increased, until it was able to accommodate 650 men. It was opened in March, 1855, and appropriated solely for wounded men; and the success of the surgical practice there was something wonderful. A second General Hospital was opened in camp in rear of the Third Division, in the month of April, 1855. It was capable of accommodating 300 patients, and was found very useful during the remainder of the siege operations.

During the summer of 1855 a Convalescent Hospital for 250 patients was erected on the high ground near St. George's Monastery, and answered remarkably well. It was appropriated, at first, for the reception of convalescents from fever, and when fever had, in a measure, disappeared from camp, it was converted into an Ophthalmic Hospital.

During the spring of 1855, when doubts were entertained about hospital accommodation, and when it was considered prudent to be provided with sea transport for wounded in case of any sudden reverse or emergency, four ships—the *Orient*, *St. Hilda*, *Robert Sale*, and *William Jackson*—were fitted up for the reception of 100 patients each.

In addition to the General Hospital accommodation enumerated above, immediate measures were taken to furnish each Regiment, Corps, and Battery with wooden huts for their sick, and great efforts were made to get them up to the front as soon as possible. This was accomplished early in the spring of 1855, and they were equipped and provided in every respect in a way that left little to desire. Equally active exertions were made to provide stores and medical comforts.

The Home Government was liberal to a degree, and every effort was made to meet promptly all demands that were made on it; and it must be admitted that, if the war was commenced on a scale of ill-judged parsimony, arising from want of experience, it was amply atoned for by subsequent liberality, and Dr. Hall had no hesitation in saying that the result of that liberality was true economy in the end.

Hospital ships were evidently a source of great annoyance and vexation for the first three or four months after the opening of the campaign in the Crimea, for in Dr. Hall's diary repeated mention is made of his fruitless applications for the speedy fitting-up of such vessels. The *Andes* and *Cambria* steamers were named by the Naval authorities for that purpose; but, in place of being reserved for that important duty, they were filled with baggage and troops at Varna by the Quartermaster-General, and, when the Army reached Toultza Bay, in the Crimea, great difficulty was experienced in obtaining transport for the sick down to Scutari, and after some delay the *Kangaroo* steamer and *Dunbar* sailing transport were appointed for that purpose by the Principal Agent of Transports.

Between the 1st of October and the 31st of December, 1854, forty-one vessels of one kind or another were despatched from the Crimea to Scutari with sick and wounded on board, conveying 8,106 invalids, of whom 4 Officers and 512 men died on the passage. In addition to the above numbers, 202 wounded Russian prisoners were sent down to Scutari in British ships.

All these vessels had to be separately fitted up for sick and wounded from the necessarily limited stores at Balaklava, and, as neither stores nor Medical Officers found their way back to the Crimea, though specially requested to be returned, the difficulties went on increasing, and these were augmented, as well as the comforts of the sick and wounded abridged, by the Agent of Transports appropriating for their reception any vessels that might

casually be in port at the time, which were frequently small and ill-adapted for the service. Dr. Hall was compelled at last to insist on steamers being specially set apart for the service, which was eventually carried out in a satisfactory manner.

On the 13th of December a second General Order was issued, censuring the Medical Department in the case of the *Avon* steamer, and, all unprejudiced readers would say, with as little justice as on the former occasion. The *Avon* steamer had been damaged in the hurricane of the 14th of November, 1854, and on the 17th of the same month she was told off by the Agent of Transports for the reception of sick and wounded men, was inspected on that day by Dr. Tice, the Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava, in the usual manner, and the following report forwarded to Dr. Hall by him of her equipment and accommodation :

" *Avon*, 1,400 tons, 6 feet 6 inches between decks. On board *Avon* 25 beds, 1,200 blankets or thereabouts, 700 pounds of tea, 6 hundredweight of sugar, Government property. Medical comforts to be had on board on requisition as follows: rice, sago, arrowroot, essence of beef, boiled beef, private property, and of all a liberal supply.

November 17th, 1854. (Signed) " J. C. TICE.

" The *Avon* to be furnished with as little delay as possible, in the usual proportion, for 350.

(Signed) " J. TICE."

The *Avon* commenced receiving sick and wounded on the 18th of November, and continued to do so until the date of her departure for Scutari on the 4th of December, when she had 18 Officers and 293 men on board.

The greater proportion of the sick sent on board were cases of cholera, or choleraic diarrhœa, but twenty-two of them were wounded, and amongst these was a poor man of the Rifle Brigade, who had had one leg and a part of the opposite foot carried away by either a cannon-

shot or a piece of shell. Gangrene had, unfortunately, attacked the stumps. The man was in great pain, feverish, and irritable, and appealing to everyone around him for relief. Amongst the visitors on board the *Avon* on the 30th of November was a Field Officer of Artillery, whose attention was drawn to this man's case. On his return to camp, he went to Lord Raglan's quarters, and reported that there was a poor wounded man on board the *Avon* steamer who had lost both his legs, and was lying on the deck with nothing but a blanket over him; that there was only one Assistant-Surgeon on board, a very young man; and that the sick and wounded were neglected, and destitute of nearly every comfort.

This tale of horror naturally shocked his Lordship, and made him angry, and he sent for the Adjutant-General at once, and desired him and Dr. Hall to go down the following morning and inquire into the matter.

General Estcourt called at Dr. Hall's tent about half-past eleven to deliver the Commander-in-Chief's order, and remarked how cruel it was to leave a poor man in that state, exposed on deck; for he, like Lord Raglan, was under the impression that the wounded man was literally exposed on the upper deck.

Dr. Hall said he was quite sure there must be some mistake in the report, as no one could possibly be so inhuman as to leave an unfortunate fellow-creature in that condition exposed on deck.

The following morning, when they went on board the *Avon*, they found the man placed on a mattress in a good position between decks, but still in great pain, and appealing to everyone for relief. He said the Doctor had been very kind and attentive to him, and had done all in his power to relieve him, but he was in such pain that he could not avoid disturbing everyone around him.

Amongst the deficiencies noticed on board was the limited number of orderly men for attendance on the sick, but as that was in accordance with the Memorandum

issued from the Adjutant-General's Department, the Commandant at Balaklava would not give more.

The rice on board was nearly expended, but that admitted of easy remedy, as there was abundance of it in the Commissariat stores on shore, which could be obtained by asking for it. One of the Assistant-Surgeons, Mr. Wilson, had been indisposed for a day or two, but was then better, and Mr. Mills, who had merely a superficial ulcer on his leg, had resumed his duty, so that the want of medical attendance was confined to one or two days during which Mr. Reade had been left in sole charge. From the notoriety the matter had obtained, his Lordship decided on having it investigated by a Court of Inquiry, and although great part of it had reference to medical points solely, the Court was composed of Military Officers alone. Neither Dr. Hall nor Dr. Lawson could ever obtain a copy of the evidence, though both applied officially for it. Dr. Lawson was merely examined as a witness, had no idea his conduct was arraigned, and was not afforded an opportunity of hearing the evidence of any single witness; and yet, had he been under trial, and found guilty by a court martial, the sentence could not have been more severe than it was. He was accused of apathy and want of interest in the welfare of the sick on board the *Avon*—two things foreign to his character, and at variance with the whole tenor of his service.

Fault was found with the inadequate number of hospital attendants, though the number embarked was in strict accordance with the Adjutant-General's Order of the 18th of October to the Commandant at Balaklava, who would not give a single man more, and, when pressed on the subject, invariably reverted to the strict letter of his Order.

His Lordship stated in the General Order of the 13th of December that he could not acquit Dr. Hall of all blame in the matter, in not having, either by personal observation or reports from his subordinates, ascertained that the ship was properly found. In penning this para-

graph, it must have escaped his memory that Dr. Hall put the original inspection report of the *Avon*, which he had received from Dr. Tice, into his Lordship's own hand, and told him that, in his opinion, the supply of medical comforts was ample for a voyage of thirty-six hours, and that three Medical Officers ought to be able to do the duty with great ease. It is true he had not personally inspected the *Avon*, but as both Dr. Tice, First-Class Staff-Surgeon, who inspected her in the first instance, and Dr. Lawson, who succeeded Dr. Tice at Balaklava, were Officers of rank and standing in the service, Dr. Hall did not think it necessary, nor was it possible, for the Principal Medical Officer of an Army personally to inquire into the detail of all duties.

On the 12th of December, the day before Lord Raglan's philippic about the *Avon*, an order was issued directing a Board, composed of an Officer of the Commissariat Department, the Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava, the Commandant of Balaklava, the Officer of the Quarter-master-General's Department stationed there, and a Naval Officer, to examine all ships named for the reception of sick. Up to that period the regulations of the service on that subject had been set aside, and the whole labour and responsibility of inspecting sick ships imposed on the Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava. It is clear, if this regulation was deemed necessary, when regularly equipped steamers had been demanded and were in course of preparation, that it ought to have been carried into effect long before, and the Medical Department relieved of a responsibility which did not properly belong to it, and for which it had twice been severely censured in the General Orders of the Army. Not only was the Medical Department saddled with this responsibility, but it was frequently placed in the most unfavourable position for executing the duty satisfactorily. For instance, on Saturday night, the 9th of December, 1854, Dr. Hall received an intimation from the Adjutant-General, informing him that the French would assist the British

with their ambulance, on the Monday morning following, to remove 1,100 sick down to Balaklava, and desiring him to visit all the Divisions of the Army, and go down to Balaklava to make arrangements for their embarkation. The distance Dr. Hall had to ride, to say nothing of his detention at the different camps and Balaklava to make arrangements, could not have been less than eighteen miles ; but as the British were in the humiliating position of being compelled to ask aid from their allies, it was found necessary to accept it when it suited their convenience to afford it. Again, on the 12th of December, Colonel Gordon, Deputy-Quartermaster-General, wrote Dr. Hall a letter by desire of Lord Raglan, but which Dr. Hall did not receive until the morning of the 13th, ordering him to go down to Balaklava to make arrangements for the embarkation of 700 sick on the morning of the 14th, and that, on Dr. Hall's arrival at Balaklava at ten o'clock, he should be informed of the names of the vessels that were to convey them down to Scutari. At that season of the year it was dark before five o'clock, so that anyone conversant with such duties can readily imagine the embarrassment that must naturally have been experienced in equipping ships at such short notice, from scant and inadequate stores, stowed away in the hold of a ship, for at that time they had no storehouses on shore. No wonder, therefore, that a military Court of Inquiry found ground for comment, and probably, if their own Regimental affairs and arrangements had been as strictly scrutinized, as many, if not more, defects and deficiencies would have been discovered.

On the 25th of November, the *Trent* steamer left Balaklava, with seventeen Officers and 168 cases of sickness on board, and arrived at Scutari on the 27th without any accident. On board the *Trent*, besides Officers, there were thirty non-commissioned Officers and privates, going down to Scutari to form the depôt there. The cases of sickness on board were all slight, selected on purpose, because it was found necessary, for want of

senior Officers, to send two Assistant-Surgeons down in charge. The Commanding Officer on board the *Trent* made a report to Lord Raglan that the two young Assistant-Surgeons had no control over the men, that the ship was insufficiently found, and one man got no rations for three days.

On the receipt of this report, his Lordship wrote a strong Memorandum, in which he properly inquired how the Surgeons of the First and Second Class were employed, and what duties the Deputy-Inspectors had to perform; but he ungenerously and unjustly added "that the sick were to be got off; that accomplished, the Medical Department appears to have cared little what became of them." In his reply (19th of December, 1854) to this Memorandum, after giving a copy of the inspection report of the vessel, dated 23rd of November, and a list of the stores put on board for the use of the sick, and after stating the duties and distribution of all the Senior Medical Officers, Dr. Hall made the following remarks to his Lordship's observations, as well as those of the reporting Officer:

"Dr. Lawson put on board such stores as he deemed sufficient for so short a voyage, and the report from Scutari proves that they were 'ample.'

"That any sick soldier should have been one day, much less three, without food is to be lamented; but it is strange such an occurrence should have taken place where all around him spoke his own language, and where he could so easily have made his wants known. Besides, there were thirty non-commissioned Officers and privates on board, in health, going down to Scutari to join the depôt there. There ought not, therefore, to have been any difficulty or merit in the senior Officer of the seventeen on board taking the command, as laid down at p. 337 of Her Majesty's Regulations, and seeing order and regularity established, if the Assistant-Surgeons were too inexperienced to manage the military part of the

arrangements. Indeed, it would have been better had a Military Officer gone in each ship, as is ordered now, and as I believe is customary on all such occasions.

"It is an invariable rule to send a Second-Class Staff-Surgeon down to Scutari, in charge of sick or wounded, when there is one available; and on four occasions, when the number of wounded was large, First-Class Staff-Surgeons were put in charge.

"When the *Trent* sailed, with the exception of Mr. Hanbury, who was in charge of the General Hospital at Balaklava, there was no Second-Class Staff-Surgeon present, and the appointment of Mr. Eames and Mr. Ludlow, both intelligent and talented young men in their profession, was matter of necessity, not choice, on the part of Dr. Lawson; and, as the cases put on board the *Trent* were selected and light, they were considered quite capable of taking medical charge of them, and the result proved the correctness of this conclusion, as no casualty occurred on the passage down.

"In the midst of many difficulties and vexations, which all are endeavouring to make the best of, I am pained to observe your Lordship thinks the Medical Department is actuated by so unworthy and un-Christian a feeling as that of merely getting rid of the helpless and unfortunate beings under its care. I assure you no such motive actuates any member of the medical profession, and I verily believe no class of men feels more acutely the present destitute and unprotected position of the sick of this Army than they do, and none have made more sacrifices than they have done to alleviate their miseries."

On another occasion someone, who was, perhaps, fonder of acting the part of a philanthropist on board a comfortable steamer in Balaklava Harbour than attending to his gunnery practice in the trenches, during the dreary month of December, 1854, addressed himself to the Duke of Newcastle, at that time Secretary of State for War, on the subject of the condition of the sick on

board ship in Balaklava Harbour, and the following extract of a despatch from his Grace was sent to Dr. Hall on the 19th of January, 1855, for reply :

" It is stated that the first batch of 3,300 sick sent to Scutari on the 11th of December embarked on board the *Sydney*, and that the poor creatures had to crawl up the ship's sides as they could, without a Medical Officer on board to receive them, or a single soul to assist them." .

With reference to this extract, Dr. Hall replied :

" I beg to enclose a report from First-Class Staff-Surgeon Dr. Anderson, who was Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava at the period that this occurrence on board the *Sydney* steamer is reported to have taken place, and I trust his answer will be considered satisfactory by the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief."

Dr. Anderson's report, dated the 20th of January, 1855, was as follows :

" I this day went on board the *Sydney*, and have heard the statement of the Captain and chief Officers regarding the occurrence of the 11th of December, 1854. As regards that part of the report which states that the sick had to crawl up, they state positively that it is totally unfounded ; that the gangway ladder, which they showed me, was the same, and had not been hoisted in for many months ; that those who were able to walk went on board by this ladder, and the others were carefully hoisted on board by a grating, which was pointed out to me. Now, the steps are as good as those of any other first-class steamer, having a rope rigged out along one side to prevent accidents ; and as the deck of the *Sydney* is a remarkably short distance above the water, I am disposed to think that the Officers of the ship are quite right in their assertion.

" I send you a copy of a letter I wrote to you on the 11th of December (in case the original should have been

mislaid), which, I hope, will suffice to explain any apparent neglect. Lieutenant Goss, R.N., merely acted by orders conveyed to him by Captain Christie, R.N., and I believe the sending down a larger number of sick than had been announced before had obliged Captain Christie to send the sick on board a vessel unprepared for them. I have to add that the sick were not more than an hour on board before the arrival of the Medical Officer."

The following is a copy of the letter of the 11th of December, 1854, alluded to by Dr. Anderson:

"Unknown to me, and by order of Lieutenant Goss, R.N., a number of sick men were sent on board the *Sydney*, a vessel that had not been inspected, nor properly provided with orderlies, medical comforts, or stores. I have endeavoured to meet the difficulty by sending a Medical Officer on board, and shall early to-morrow inspect her.

"I beg leave to call your pointed attention to the above circumstances, as the best arrangements are rendered entirely null and void by such orders."

Again, in a despatch of the 6th of January, 1855, his Grace wrote to Lord Raglan:

"In a recent instance it is stated that the sick sent to Scutari have been allowed to embark without a Medical Officer to assist them on board, and without help in their distress other than that which they could afford each other. Such suffering, if it has existed, is cruel, because it could have been prevented under proper management."

This was referred to Dr. Hall on the 25th of January, 1855, and the following was his answer:

"No sick have been allowed to embark, and proceed to Scutari, without both medical aid and orderlies to attend them. I cannot, therefore, account for this statement.

"The only instance that I know of where sick were left

even for a short period without a medical attendant occurred in the early part of December, when, more sick having been brought down than were expected, the Agent of Transports ordered some to be put on board the *Sydney* steamer without the knowledge of Dr. Anderson, Staff-Surgeon, First-Class, and Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava; but, immediately it was made known to him, he despatched a Medical Officer on board the *Sydney*, who reached the vessel within an hour after the arrival of the invalids.

"On the 21st inst. I had the honour to submit, for Field-Marshal Lord Raglan's information, a full report from Dr. Anderson of every particular connected with this transaction."

Soon after a more settled arrangement had been made about the transport of sick from the Crimea to Scutari, it was thought advisable to have a Military Officer on board each vessel, to maintain order and discipline amongst the orderlies and convalescents; but some of these gentlemen strangely mistook their position, and interfered in medical concerns, to the prejudice of the sick, and on the 6th of January, 1855, Dr. Hall was compelled to bring to the notice of the Military authorities the complaint of a Medical Officer in charge of a ship, who had been so interfered with in his professional duty. The Military Officer, as Dr. Hall stated to the Adjutant-General, "with better intentions, it was to be hoped, than judgment, drew wine on his own authority, and administered it to the sick on board in its pure state, to their prejudice in some instances, without either consulting or mentioning the circumstance to the Medical Officer, who was held responsible for the care of the sick and due administration of the comforts put on board for their use."

In acting thus, Dr. Hall stated, he thought the Military Officer had "overstepped the duties of his position, and interfered in matters he could not understand, and with which he had no authority to meddl . He also took upon

himself needlessly to destroy public property by ordering blankets to be thrown overboard, which could have been washed and rendered serviceable again on the arrival of the vessel at Scutari."

Improper as the above conduct was, the system of intermeddling with medical concerns was shortly afterwards brought to a climax by a very young Ensign, who had been placed on board one of the ships, reporting to the Adjutant-General that, in his opinion, the supply of medicine put on board was inadequate.

Now, as this supply had been deemed adequate by the First-Class Staff-Surgeon who ordered it at Balaklava before the vessel sailed, and had been found amply sufficient by the First-Class Staff-Surgeon who inspected her on her arrival at Scutari, it is fair to assume there was no occasion for the young gentleman's comment; and when General Estcourt showed Dr. Hall the report, the latter observed: "Doubtless this young Ensign was a better judge of what was necessary than the two Staff-Surgeons whose duty it was to attend to such matters. But the fact is, General, everyone nowadays thinks he is privileged, and that it will be a feather in his cap to have a kick at the doctors, who are now at a discount." His answer was: "This kind of absurdity, I see, must be put a stop to." And it was, for from that day Dr. Hall never received any complaints. If they were made, they were never forwarded to him. But, after the fitting-up and equipment of the four large steamers which were employed for the conveyance of sick, a person must have been very fastidious indeed to find fault with the arrangements.

The improvement in the health of the soldiers was shown in Dr. Linton's Sanitary Report on most of the Regiments in the First Division for the month of January, 1855. Diarrhœa, dysentery, and fever were still the prevalent diseases. Of the two former, there was a slight decrease, but of the latter a trifling increase. Many cases towards the end of the disease assumed a typhoid form, and proved fatal.

The freer use of lime-juice and preserved potatoes was evidently beneficial in checking the advance of scurvy, while the mildness of the weather precluded the chances of any further increase of gelatio.

This improvement was attributable, partly to the labour of the men being somewhat less, the French having taken the picket duties in many places, partly to the improved state of the weather, and of warm clothing having been received, and subsequently to better land-transport, enabling them to get their provisions more regularly; but a still greater quantity of fresh meat and vegetables was required, both of which could have been readily obtained on the adjacent coasts.

From the Light Division at the camp above Sebastopol Dr. T. Alexander submitted also a better report for February, 1855. The admissions during February were about one-third less than in the previous month—1,252, as against 1,860 in January. The total number of cases was 2,052, of which 194 died. This was also a considerable decrease, 317 having died in January.

The above was in a great measure attributed to the less harassing duties, warm clothing, and protection afforded by the huts, as well as the better supply of vegetables, with lime-juice, etc., and also the comparative mildness of the weather.

During the month there were very few days of rain. On the 3rd of February the thermometer fell to 5° above zero in the evening. On the 20th of February the thermometer outside the marquee, with a north-east wind blowing, stood in the evening at 2° below zero, but rose during the day to 20°. The greater part of the month was clear and light, and occasionally hot, the sun having considerable power.

The principal diseases were fever, affections of the bowels, scurvy, pest-bites, and seventeen cases of gunshot wounds. Of the former, 325 were treated, and forty-three died. For dysentery, 299 were treated, and forty-five died; and, of 242 cases of diarrhœa, forty-eight died.

The cases of scurvy gradually disappeared. Of the gunshot wounds, several occurred in the 19th Regiment from musket-balls, but were not of a grave nature.

The health of the Division improved from the causes already mentioned, and from the good supply of buffalo-robes, rugs, waterproof covers, etc. The patients were very comfortable in the field hospital. Latterly each patient had issued daily for him ½ pound of fresh meat, with supplies of vegetables and all kinds of medical comforts from all the funds, with good soup and every comfort issued liberally if requisite. As regards medicines in hand, there was also a better supply.

From the 1st of January to the 31st of March, 1855, ninety-six Officers and 6,284 men were taken to the hospitals in the Bosphorus in thirty-six vessels.

Conveyance for the sick on shore continued to be a source of great perplexity during the whole winter of 1854-55. During the month of October, when the roads were good, the twelve ambulance-waggons which had been brought from Varna were sufficient to keep the number of sick in camp within bounds; but when the wet weather set in in November, and the roads became deep and too heavy for them to travel, endeavour was made to obtain assistance from the Commissariat; but their transport was far too limited for their own service, and they were unable to afford any aid. It was then suggested by the Quartermaster-General that the Artillery Flanders waggons should be made available for the duty, but somehow they were generally required for other purposes, and, beyond removing the sick of their own Corps, little assistance was derived from them.

On two or three occasions in December the French afforded relief by lending strong detachments of their mule-litters, and on the 19th of December, finding that all other sources had failed, Dr. Hall suggested that the Cavalry horses should be employed to remove such sick men as were able to ride, and could bear the fatigue of the journey down to Balaklava; but this left the worst

cases, and those whose removal was most urgently desired, to their fate in camp.

Information of intended movements was strangely withheld from the head of the Medical Department until the very last, and much unnecessary inconvenience was occasioned by this neglect. It is not sound policy on the part of the Military authorities to conceal from the head of any civil branch of the Army, who has grave responsibilities attached to his situation, intended movements of the Army, nor is it fair towards him to allow him to obtain his first information from common camp-rumour, as was the case with Dr. Hall on the expeditions to Kertch, Kinburn, and Eupatoria. In the case of the Kinburn Expedition, which consisted of 4,000 men, going for an indefinite time, he received the first official information to name the Medical Staff, and prepare the medical equipment which were to accompany it, on the morning of the 2nd of October, 1855, and the expedition was to embark the following day. The detailed information of the expedition he did not receive from the Quartermaster-General's Department until the morning of the 3rd itself. How the preparations were to be made never seems to have been taken into consideration. Even when the Army was embarking for England in 1856 the same system was pursued, only he had taken a lesson from past experience, and furnished each Regiment and Battery of Artillery with a complete equipment of medical stores, so that little inconvenience was felt when they embarked in bodies, but system was shown. Thus, on the 27th of May, Dr. Hall received a telegraphic message from Balaklava to provide medicine and medical attendance for the *Bacchante* steamer, ordered to sail at five the same afternoon. Fortunately, stores and Medical Officers were ready to be put on board on both these occasions, but, as that might not always be the case, he brought the subject officially to the notice of the Chief of the Staff, and requested that he might have the same notice as others when medical equipments were required. There

was no urgency of service, and consequently no necessity whatever for putting the Medical Department to greater inconvenience than others.

On the 7th of June the English captured the Quarries, and the French took the Mamelon. On the 18th of June the English were repulsed in their attack on the Redan, and again in their second assault on the 8th of September, when the French took the Malakoff, and Sebastopol fell. On the occasion of an assault such as that of the 18th of June or the 8th of September, no one expected long notice, and no one complained of additional labour. On the eve of the assault of the 18th of June, Dr. Hall was engaged in making preparations in camp until eleven o'clock at night on the 17th, and he was on the field again at 2 a.m. on the 18th. On this occasion, from the care that had been taken, he thought almost every contingency had been provided for, and the result was generally considered most satisfactory. Great, therefore, was the astonishment and disgust of everyone, and particularly of some civil Surgeons attached to the General Hospital in camp, when a letter censuring the medical arrangements appeared in the *Times* newspaper. The truth of the allegations set forth in that letter was carefully inquired into by a competent tribunal, and the writer met with the reward his conduct merited.

In the *Times* of the 5th of July, 1855, there appeared the above-mentioned letter on "The Wounded before Sebastopol":

"SIR,

"After all the talk in Parliament and out of it about the necessity of reform in our military systems, and especially in the Medical Department, and after the reports of the state of the hospitals at Scutari, persons of a confiding disposition, who were unacquainted with the Chinese-like unchangeability of official men and things, might have supposed that, in the event of any great action—an event for so long expected—every con-

venience and comfort for the wounded would be in abundance.

"Perhaps the following facts may tend to undeceive them:

"At 3 a.m. on the 18th of June the assault commenced. We were all waiting for the wounded, who arrived as soon as they could travel the distance between the advanced works and the hospital. At 5 a.m. a ward was given over to me. It contained no patients. I was requested to see what was wanted for it. I found in it fourteen wretched shaky bedsteads, as many mattresses stuffed with chopped straw, the mattresses not sewn up at the sides, and sheets and blankets to correspond. This was all. Not a cup, knife, fork, and spoon; no large vessel for holding water—nothing but what I have named. I immediately applied for the various things deficient. Drinking-cups there were none. One utensil I could have for the whole ward; nothing to hold water or tea—no plates. The wounded began to arrive; that ward was soon filled; others were given over to me in exactly the same predicament. One orderly was given to attend on fourteen wounded men, not one of whom was able to move. Each ward was the same. The constant cry of the wounded was for water. We had nothing to give it them in. Old tin cases that had contained preserved meats were eagerly sought for, but out of these they could not drink except by a most painful effort, as, of course, they had to be raised up in bed. I proceeded to dress the wounds. The orderly given me had never done that duty before, and when I asked him to give me lint strappings and gutta-percha, he did not know what those articles were. Every moment he was called away to give a drink to some wounded man.

"Well, Sir, during the whole of that day the wounded had nothing to eat, and not enough to drink. During the night of the 18th the wounded came crowding in. Some of them were admitted by the orderlies without having seen a Medical Officer, and, consequently, not

having been seen, their wounds were not dressed till morning. Yesterday the only food given to these poor creatures until nine o'clock at night was hard biscuit and tea! There was no bread for them, no arrowroot, no beef-tea—nothing except tea without milk! I did not find this out until the bread had arrived, or certainly as long as any bread was to be bought my own men should have had some. We were occupied incessantly all yesterday and the day before in dressing and operating. As soon as one man was removed from the operating-table another was put on.

"I have not time, Sir, to write more, or I could give many further particulars. I think these facts need no comment. I can vouch for every word I have written. . . . I beg to state that I am not a civilian Surgeon, finding fault with what I do not understand. I am in the Army, and, being in the Army, it is, perhaps, to use an official term, 'indiscreet' to write this letter. Nor am I a non-professional person writing to the *Times* to complain that a man with a ball through his shoulder suffers pain; but, case-hardened and tough though a professional life has rendered me, I cannot see brave men suffering unnecessarily without indignation. I have written strongly because I feel strongly.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"M.R.C.S., L.S.A.

"CAMP BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*June 20th.*

"P.S.—As soon as I can find out the residence of your correspondent, I shall apply through him to the distributor of the *Times* Fund."

"*June 22nd.*—Since the above was written, many of the things deficient have been supplied, but many are still wanting."

"NOTE.—Your medical readers will understand the frightful deficiency of stores when I mention there are no

splints except straight ones to be had, and that there are no Macintyre's splints, nor any modification of them, and no angular splints. All these things are stored in the most lavish profusion at Scutari."

This letter was answered in the *Times* of the 2nd of August, 1855, by two gentlemen who signed themselves: "George H. B. Macleod, Surgeon to the Civil Hospital, Smyrna, and now attached to the Staff in the Crimea; Henry J. L. Rooke, Civil Surgeon, attached to the Staff of the Army." They wrote:

"SIR,

"In the *Times* of July 5 there appeared a letter written by one of the Military Medical Officers attached to this hospital, and which letter has been since commented on by Mr. Stafford in the House of Commons.

"A deplorable account is therein given of the condition of the wounded before Sebastopol, which, besides being calculated to cause the utmost pain to those whose friends were wounded on the 18th ult., will, without doubt, give rise to a most erroneous impression in England as to how the sick are here cared for. It is too much the fashion at present to write philippics against the military medical system, and thus to pander to the morbid taste which has been engendered of late for 'tales of horror from the East.' It is easy for men like your correspondent to make themselves notorious. They know full well that the Military Medical Officers, however maligned, cannot reply officially to such accusations as they bring against them. The public take silence on the part of the accused as implying inability to rebut the charges, and thus it is that the Military Surgeons, who are beyond dispute the hardest worked, worst paid, and most meritorious body of men in the public service, have been condemned throughout the length and breadth of England. A feeling of justice alone prompts us to reply to the charges contained in the letter above referred to.

We are civilians, and consequently shall be believed to be in no way prejudiced in favour of the military system."

"We do not appear as panegyrists of the military hospitals or of the military system. About the insufficiency of both much that is true and much more that is false has been lately said and written; but, as we have been attached as Surgeons to this hospital since and before the engagement of the 18th ult., we are at least as capable of giving an opinion on the accommodation prepared for and the attention shown to the patients admitted on that eventful day as the gentleman who is known to have written that obnoxious letter, and who, by the way, only did duty here for two or three days, and that merely in the capacity of an Acting-Assistant-Surgeon. Six months in the service can hardly be supposed to have rendered this gentleman the veteran he would have us believe he is, and we greatly fear that, though he is not a 'civilian Surgeon,' he has notwithstanding written 'finding fault with what he does not understand.' Many of his statements are utterly without foundation; others so exaggerated as to bear on their surface a mere shadow of truth."

They *contradicted* or *explained every statement* which the anonymous accuser had made, and concluded with these words:

"'We have written strongly, because we feel strongly,' and that because we think a cowardly and unjustifiable act has been committed by your correspondent in thus trumping up such a series of unfounded charges as those you have published, and to endorse which he has failed to supply his name. In justice to the absent we request you to insert this letter."

The authorship of the anonymous letter was subsequently claimed by Acting-Assistant-Surgeon Hall-Bakewell. As it contained charges of the gravest nature against Medical Officers of the Army, a Court of Inquiry

was directed to examine into the truth of the allegations. After the most minute and patient investigation into the whole of the circumstances connected with the treatment of the wounded on the 18th of June, this Court declared the letter to be " calculated grossly to mislead the public and cast blame on those to whom praise is justly due."

Acting-Assistant-Surgeon Hall-Bakewell was informed that his services were dispensed with, and his name was struck off the strength of the Army. He remonstrated, and complained of having been condemned without a trial, but he was not reinstated.

Another letter appeared in the spring of 1856, stating that the teeth of the men were dropping out from scurvy, and in the *Times* of the 12th of February, 1856, a letter from the *Times* correspondent from Renkroi appeared, stating that a number of soldiers were admitted into hospital at Balaklava for dysentery. While there, fever came on, and their feet became frost-bitten as they lay in their beds. He presumed there was some foundation for the story. No further attacks were made on the Medical Department. In some of these instances the writer must have been misled by someone, for the gentleman who filled the office of correspondent to the *Times* would have scorned to invent anything of the kind.

In July, 1855, the hospitals were so liberally supplied by Government that there was no want of mattresses or anything else, and no occasion to apply to the *Times* or any other fund for aid ; and in the spring of 1856, when the teeth of the men were reported to be dropping out from scurvy, the Regiment quoted had not returned a single case of the disease in its medical statements for a long time previous. There were only four cases returned in the Division of the Army to which it belonged, and not more than eleven in the whole Army.

The dress of an Army like that of the British, which has to serve in every quarter of the globe, and in every conceivable variety of climate, is a subject of great difficulty and perplexity, requiring due and mature considera-

tion, so to arrange its different parts, both as to shape and material, as to render it as generally useful as possible, and obviate the necessity, as far as is practicable, of either change or expenses when the soldier is removed from one station to another. But no plan that can be devised will be applicable both to temperate climates and service within the tropics.

The dress of the British Army, on taking the field in Turkey, was that which was in use for home service; but many changes and additions took place in the course of the war, some of them useful, others much out of place both for the climate and service, and the expense of which might, perhaps, have been obviated by attention to the information obtained by the Director-General of the Army Medical Department; for in August, 1854, in answer to queries put by him on the subject, he was furnished by Dr. Hall with an account of the winter clothing worn by the Austrian and Russian troops. The mean temperature of the climate of the Crimea from the 27th of October, 1855, to the 29th of March, 1856, was only 38·47°, and as the winter of 1855-56 was an ordinarily severe one, that may be assumed as the general temperature of the climate near Sebastopol during the winter. The previous winter of 1854-55, when the British troops suffered so much, the mean temperature must have been higher, but there was more rain, which rendered it more destructive to the health of the men, who were thinly clad, badly shod, indifferently lodged, not overwell fed, much exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and fearfully overworked, both in the trenches and on fatigues. The constant scarcity of fuel continued to render cooking difficult, and means of drying their wet clothes or warming themselves when they returned to their camps quite out of the question.

The Army landed in the Crimea, as previously stated, on the 14th of September, 1854, without tents or baggage. The men left their packs even on board ship, and did not recover them for many weeks. Numbers were lost

altogether in the hurricane of the 14th of November, and others were plundered, so that the men were not only deprived of the comforts of their kit for a length of time, but when they did recover them, many of them found that several of the most useful articles had been abstracted. To separate a soldier from his knapsack, except for a short period, and under very urgent circumstances, is not a judicious measure. Had the men landed with their knapsacks, and had some few modifications in their dress been made, much of the misery they experienced would have been obviated.

So early as the 3rd of November, 1854, 5,500 jersey-frocks were placed at Dr. Hall's disposal for distribution amongst the weakly men of the different Divisions; and on the 29th of the same month a circular memorandum was issued by him, urging Medical Officers to apply at once for a due proportion of blankets and warm underclothing for the sick under their care; and as marquees, huts, and equipment of all kinds arrived, every effort was made to get them to the front; but during the early part of the winter the roads were so bad, and the means of transport so limited, that little could be effected beyond the conveyance of the absolute necessaries of life. Improvement was evidently very slow, for the same story of want of transport and clothing occurs repeatedly in Dr. Hall's diary of this year.

When the Army landed in the Crimea, salt meat and biscuit were issued, but the men were enabled, for a short period, to obtain grapes in the vineyards and vegetables from the gardens. This source of supply, however, was soon exhausted; and on the 24th of October, a tendency to scurvy having been observed in some men of the 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which had been some time on board ship, a letter was written to the Adjutant-General of the Army by Dr. Dumbreck, Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea at the time, calling attention to this, and pointing out the necessity of procuring fresh vegetables from the neighbouring ports,

and adding them to the men's rations. Verbal communication was also made to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, pointing out the necessity of lime-juice; and on the 28th of the same month, 4,572 pints were landed from Her Majesty's ship *Stromboli*, 144 pints were brought up from Scutari in the *Himalaya* steamer, and 36 pints were purchased in Balaklava, as well as 700 lemons—making a total of 4,752 pints of lime-juice received during the December quarter of 1854 for medicinal purposes; in January, 1855, 4,932 pints were received; and in February, 6,417 more, making a total of 16,101 pints; and, after the 30th of January, the issue was made general to the whole Army, as part of the daily rations.

The necessity for lime-juice and fresh vegetables, as well as fresh meat, was strongly urged on the attention of the Commander-in-Chief by Dr. Hall, both in official communications, addressed to him and other members of the Staff, and by verbal recommendations as well; and his Lordship not only seemed alive to the importance of the subject, but did all in his power to remedy the defect by directing the Commissariat to purchase all the vegetables that were brought into Balaklava Harbour, and to send for them from a distance; and in this way considerable supplies were received in the early part of the winter, but advantage was not taken of them by Quartermasters of Regiments, in all probability for want of means of conveyance, and a large portion of them perished.

On the 10th of November, 1854, the arrival of a large supply of fresh vegetables, by the *Trent*, *Harbinger*, and *Albatross* steamers, was made known in General Orders, and that any quantity would be delivered on board on the receipts of Quartermasters of Regiments. Again, on the 2nd of December, the arrival of a quantity of fresh potatoes from Trieste and England was made known in General Orders; but on neither occasion was full advantage taken by Commanding Officers of the seasonable arrival of these articles of diet, which were at that time

of so much importance and so urgently demanded for the health of the men, and, in place of making strenuous efforts to get the vegetables conveyed to camp, they were allowed to rot on board the steamers. This shows that the subject of fresh vegetables was not overlooked by the authorities, as is generally believed; and, if the soldier did not derive all the benefit that he might have done, it was dependent on causes that were not easily surmountable.

On the 13th of February, 1855, the following letter was addressed to the Commander-in-Chief by Dr. Hall:

"Diet is a question of so much importance to the welfare of an Army that I think it advisable, and beg to recommend to your favourable consideration, that a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the present mode of rationing the troops in the Crimea, and see if any, and what, changes can be effected by way of improvement."

The Commissioners recommended porter to be substituted for a portion of the ration of rum issued to the men. This recommendation, which was written in June, Dr. Hall approved; and on March 21 a passage to the following effect is found in one of his letters to the Adjutant-General of the Army:

"The quantity of rum the young soldiers get is prejudicial to their health, and the quantity of bad spirit the old soldiers purchase from the French does them no good either, and it would be well if this nuisance were abated. Now that the railway is coming into operation, we shall be able to get malt liquor up to camp, which would be much better for the men than spirits, and, under proper restrictions, might be both issued and sold to them with advantage. Salt and pepper, as well as other condiments, are of so much importance to health that I wonder more attention has not been paid to the subject. In July last I urged the necessity of these

articles being a Commissariat supply, but up to this day nothing has been done in the way of providing things so essential for the men's use. As in July, 1854, so in March, 1855, the same want prevails in every Regiment of this Army. The Board of Health, now sitting, have noted this defect in their proceedings."

During the early part of the winter, scarcity of fuel and want of camp-kettles rendered it impossible for the men to cook properly the rations which they received, which were all of the most unexceptional quality; and although there were occasional defects in quantity, and irregularity in delivery, and the supply of fresh meat was not so great as could have been wished, still, in Dr. Hall's opinion, there was nothing in the dieting, or amount of salt meat issued, to account for the fearful deterioration of health of the men, had not other depressing causes been in operation, such as excessive fatigue, insufficient clothing and shelter, and constant exposure to wet and inclement weather, without the means of changing their clothes, or obtaining proper rest and well-cooked and seasoned food, when they came off duty. These causes all tended to break down the men's health and produce scurvy. That it was not the diet alone was proved by a wing of the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which was quartered on the heights over Balaklava, one of the most exposed positions in the whole lines. These men were fed exactly in the same way as the other wing of the Regiment in front; but, as they were not so harassed with duty, and had more time to hut themselves and make themselves comfortable, the consequence was that, while the other wing in front was harassed with fever, diarrhœa, and scurvy, the one near Balaklava enjoyed comparatively good health, and only lost two men, out of a strength of 321, during the quarter ending the 31st of March, 1855—one a case of dysentery, the other a case of apoplexy.

The duty the Army was called on to perform in front

of Sebastopol was excessive, and such as no constitution could long be exposed to with impunity; and, when this was coupled with other hardships, such as defective clothing and shelter, exposure to inclement weather, insufficiency of fuel, and means of cooking, it is not to be wondered at that diseases of a grave character made their appearance and swept off numbers. The same or worse would have happened had the Army been encamped, under similar circumstances, in the healthiest part of England. There was nothing in either the climate or soil of that part of the Crimea where the British Army was encamped to account for the amount of sickness that took place in it during the winter of 1854-55, as the one was salubrious and the other free from malarious exhalations. On the plateau in front of Sebastopol, where the bulk of the army was encamped, this was remarkably the case; and the one or two objectionable points in front of Balaklava, which the defence of the place rendered it necessary to occupy, were improved as much as possible by drainage and other means. And one of them—the camp of the 79th Highlanders—was, at an early period, recommended by the Principal Medical Officer to be abandoned as soon as ever circumstances would admit of it.

The plateau in front of Sebastopol was high and dry, with the limestone rock cropping out in many places; and from the position and formation of the ground, the natural drainage was good by reason of the deep ravines which intersected it. The supply of water was ample, and of good quality; much stress was laid on the impurity and injurious effects of the water in camp by certain parties unconnected with the public service, but, in Dr. Hall's opinion, without sufficient grounds for their statements.

Government appointed Special Sanitary Commissioners on liberal salaries, and with superior powers to those possessed by the Medical Officers of the Army serving in the East. Those gentlemen were accompanied by a civil

engineer, a secretary, and a corps of inspectors of nuisances to aid them in their labours and carry out their views.

So far as the labours of the Sanitary Commissioners came under his notice, Dr. Hall thought their services might have been dispensed with without any detriment to the health of the Army in Turkey, as there was nothing material in their recommendations which had not been either suggested or was not in actual operation before their arrival. He spoke of what came under his own observation in the Crimea; but they might have furnished other reports and valuable information to the authorities at home.

A pathologist, with two assistants, was also sent to the East, to investigate the nature and cause of the diseases prevailing in the Army. These gentlemen were liberally paid in comparison with Army stipends. What they discovered, or what it was expected they could discover that was hidden from the Medical Officers of the Army, Dr. Hall was at a loss to know.

In November, 1854, when the hospitals at Scutari were in great want of good and trained attendants, a devoted band of ladies and a corps of hired nurses were sent out, to whom all praise was due for their devotion; but Dr. Hall asserted, without wishing to detract from their merits, that the romantic enthusiasm with which their labours were viewed in England was not shared by the medical men, either civil or military, on the spot, who had no object in either under- or over-rating services which were of acknowledged value at the time. But as military medical men were supposed to be inimical to female nursing in military hospitals, it would be fairer to leave the decision of the question to the reports of the civilians who did duty in the military hospitals in the East, and who could not reasonably be supposed to be biassed in one way or the other. To put the question, however, to the test of rational utility, the facts of the month of November, when Miss Nightingale and her thirty-eight nurses arrived at Scutari, were as follows: at that time the number of sick in hospital may be

estimated at 3,200, which would give each nurse a charge, supervision, or whatever it might be termed, of eighty-four sick and wounded men. Medical men would understand the amount of service they would be able to render each individual; and, as most of the patients were either wounded or seriously ill, medical men would be better able to estimate the value of such service than those persons who were led away by their feelings, and reasoned on what they had seen published in the newspapers. Dr. Hall took the month of November as the period of calculation for the services of the nurses, but the sick-list at Scutari rose rapidly after that until it must have reached to between 5,000 and 6,000.

Much praise was justly due to Miss Nightingale and the lady nurses for their courage and devotion to the cause of humanity in thus undertaking duties and entering on scenes so foreign to all their previous experience. There was such an utter abnegation of self in the pious undertaking, and the duty was performed with so much tenderness and zeal, that it was impossible to withhold the meed of admiration which was so justly their due, however much anyone might differ from the principles of the scheme of nursing which was attempted to be introduced into the military hospitals during the war. Nothing could possibly have been more praiseworthy than the devoted attention of Miss Nightingale, Miss Shaw Stewart, Miss Wear, Miss Clough, and Miss Langston, who came more immediately within Dr. Hall's own observation; nor should mention be omitted of Mrs. Bridgman and the Sisters of Mercy under her superintendence, who, in their quiet, efficient, and unostentatious manner of performing the duties to which they had vowed their lives, were a model of nursing worthy of being imitated by all.

Dr. Hall always thought, and his experience in the East in no way altered his opinion, that there were only two things which could insure efficient nursing in military or any other hospitals—viz., either affection or a strong

feeling of religious duty. Affection was out of the question in large public establishments, and money hire or temporary enthusiasm were feeble ties and poor substitutes for the other.

Much may be accomplished where unbounded resources are placed at the disposal of individuals, as was the case with the Sanitary Commissioners, with the head of the female nursing establishment, and with the Superintendents of the civil hospitals at Smyrna and Renkroi. The extent of this unbounded liberality to the head of the female nursing establishment might well excite the astonishment of the Allies; and Monsieur Baudens, Principal Inspector of French Hospitals, when he came to the Crimea in the spring of 1856, asked Dr. Hall how it was that Miss Nightingale had the disposal of such enormous quantities of stores, as she had just made them a present of 6,000 litres of port wine, and, he said, of a quantity of arrowroot and essence of beef. Dr. Hall, as the head of the Medical Department of the Army in the Crimea, was compelled to acknowledge his utter ignorance of the whole transaction, and Monsieur Baudens' natural observation, accompanied by a shrug of his shoulders, was, "C'est bien drôle, mon ami;" and so Dr. Hall thought at the time.

Had the same means and facilities been placed at the disposal of the Medical Department of the Army that were given to the civil establishments attached to it, they would have accomplished as much, or more, than was carried into effect, at considerably less cost to the public, and with equal efficiency, so far as the real wants of the sick were concerned; for luxurious refinements were not essentials, and their admission into military establishments was of questionable utility.

The mean strength of the British Army in the Crimea during the quarter ending the 31st of December, 1854, might be taken at 38,789; of this number, 25,336 were under medical treatment, and of these 2,577 died, and 8,153 were sent away as convalescents.

Many of the recruits who joined the Army during the December quarter were feeble young lads, quite unequal to the hardships and physical exertions which soldiers have to undergo during a siege like that of Sebastopol, and numbers of them sickened and died. Poor boys! Feeble and inefficient as they were, they were only calculated to fill the hospitals, without adding materially to the effective strength of the Army. Some of the drafts, when they arrived, were landed in unfavourable weather, and at unseasonable hours of the day. The same thing took place with the Regiments, and the Principal Medical Officer considered it his duty to call the special attention of the Adjutant-General to the subject.

Some of the drafts of recruits suffered even more severely than the newly-arrived Regiments, and equal indifference was shown about the way they were sent off to find their Regiments. The Surgeon of the 23rd Fusiliers describes one of these scenes, where a draft of recruits for his Corps was landed, and sent off from Balaklava late in the evening to find their camp, seven miles distant, without guides or assistance. The men wandered about in the mud nearly all night. Some found their Regiment by other soldiers taking compassion on them and showing them the way; others took refuge with the French. One man was attacked with cholera and died, and some of the men did not find their Regiment for two or three days.

During the months of December and January the Army was, from a combination of untoward circumstances, in great misery, and it was not until towards the end of January that an amelioration was observable in its condition; but from that time forward it gradually improved, until, as has been already mentioned, it attained a remarkable state of health and comfort.

The siege operations were conducted languidly during the March quarter of 1855, and the number of wounded admitted into hospital was comparatively small.

During the month of April there was a general and decided improvement in the health of the Army. The men's wants were better attended to, and although the duty was still severe from the recommencement of active siege operations, it did not affect them so much as it had previously done, now that the weather was mild and their physical condition ameliorated.

Cholera reappeared early in May, and proved fatal to many. It attacked the Regiments recently arrived in the country, and recruits who had joined their respective Corps. It was first noticed in the Second Division, and was for a time confined to it and the Fourth Division.

It broke out after a shift of wind to the south-east, and most of the first cases occurred either in the trenches or on return from a tour of duty in them. After a short period the disease ceased in front, and attacked the troops in and about Balaklava. Some Artillery that had just arrived, and were encamped on high, dry, and perfectly fresh ground, did not escape the pestilence, so that, whatever the cause of the disease might be, it was clear that many preconceived views were erroneous. For instance, when the disease appeared in the Second Division, it was ascribed to the impurities in the trenches, and these were very properly removed, as far as circumstances would permit. A Russian cemetery was supposed to have exercised an injurious influence over one portion of the trenches, but subsequent examination, after the capture of Sebastopol, proved that it had not been used recently as a place of sepulture, and even if it had, the distance was too great to admit of its exerting any very marked influence. It was proved that other causes besides these must have been in operation, such as fatigue, atmospheric change, etc., because, though the supposed exciting causes remained, the disease suddenly subsided in front, and made its appearance at a distance amongst civilians and the troops stationed in and about Balaklava and Kadekoi.

Bad water, improper food, and overcrowded tents were assigned as exciting causes of the disease in the 72nd High-

landers by a Reverend gentleman who was attached to the Corps, and who thought it necessary to forward his dissertation to the Secretary of State for War; but, unfortunately for his theory, the disease broke out in the 72nd Regiment while it was still on board ship off Kertch, and before the men had ever set foot in the Crimea at all; so that none of the agencies alluded to, except perhaps overcrowding, were in operation. No one, however, denied the importance of pure water, wholesome food, ample space, and there might at that time, with propriety, have been added moderate duty, for the preservation of health.

Towards the end of May the disease moderated in camp in front, but broke out with great violence amongst the troops and shipping at Balaklava.

From the 18th to the end of June cholera continued to increase and become more general. On the 24th, Major-General Estcourt, Adjutant-General of the Army, died; and on the 28th of June Lord Raglan fell a victim to an attack of the disease in a modified form.

General Estcourt was ill on the 18th of June, and exerted himself during the whole of that day and the greater part of the next, during the flag of truce, and this overfatigue developed the disease in its characteristic form. On the 23rd there were some indications of possible recovery, but in the course of the afternoon there was a fearful thunderstorm, which seemed to exercise a baneful influence over the disease, and depressed the feeble powers of life to such a degree that nature was unable to rally, and he died about four in the morning.

Lord Raglan, whose mind was apparently much depressed by the repulse at the Redan on the 18th, as well as by the sickness and death of his personal friend the Adjutant-General, was seized with dangerous symptoms on the 22nd, which went on for three or four days without attracting much attention, and he continued to discharge his official duties up to the morning of the 26th, when Dr. Hall was asked to see him by Dr. Prendergast,

his personal medical attendant. He was much struck and alarmed at his altered voice and appearance, more than by the urgency of his other symptoms, and, on expressing his apprehensions to Dr. Prendergast, the latter said he thought much of what he saw was nervousness. Dr. Hall suggested that his Lordship's illness should be telegraphed home, and the next day, still feeling apprehensive, he recommended some one to be called in in consultation, and Dr. Prendergast named Dr. Alexander, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, who saw him in the course of the afternoon, and told his personal staff that his Lordship had not a single unfavourable symptom..

Lord Raglan's voice was husky at the time, and, although his skin was moderately warm and his pulse distinct, he had lost complete power over himself, and about midday on the 28th he was suddenly seized with oppressed breathing, and died between eight and nine in the evening.

Next to bowel-complaints in point of mortality came fevers, and in point of numbers they far exceeded the former, for 7,370 were under treatment in the course of the quarter, and of this number 404 died.

Wounds and injuries were also numerous this quarter, and 234 deaths took place under that head. Active siege-operations commenced early in April. When on the 7th of June the French stormed the Mamelon, and the English attacked and carried the Quarries in front of the Redan with comparatively little loss, the Russians in the course of the night made several attempts to dislodge them, and during the whole operation 11 Officers and 122 men were killed, and 36 Officers and 510 men wounded.

On the 18th of June a combined attack was made on the Malakoff and Redan by the Allied Army at daybreak, and was repulsed. The loss of the English on this occasion was 21 Officers and 230 men killed, and 71 Officers and 1,130 men wounded. In the night

the Russians made a sortie, which was repulsed, with a loss on the British part of 7 killed and 42 wounded, making a total of 1,511 put *hors de combat.*

On this occasion every preparation that could be thought of was made, and the wounded were placed in as favourable a position as could ever be expected on service. Indeed, they were much more favourably placed than was generally the case, and the result was satisfactory.

Towards the end of July the weather changed from dry heat to a moist southerly wind, which was followed by a heavy fall of rain at the commencement of August, and a reappearance of cholera in the 72nd Regiment, and in some companies of the siege-train, which had recently arrived from England. This outbreak was of short duration, and not of any particular violence, and, with the exception of the newly-arrived Corps, its prevalence was never remarkable afterwards.

From this period the general health of the Army improved, and cholera gradually disappeared; but on the 8th of September the Redan was assaulted by the English, and the Malakoff captured by the French, with heavy loss in both Armies.

In the British Army the loss was 29 Officers and 357 men killed, and 124 Officers and 1,766 men wounded. One Officer and 170 men were returned missing, making a total of 2,447 casualties. Nearly the whole of this great mass of wounded was brought in in the course of the afternoon and early part of the night, and accommodated either in their own Regimental hospitals or in the General Hospital in camp, their injuries being promptly and properly attended to.

The men who fell too near to the enemy's works to be brought in were removed at daybreak the following morning, as well as such wounded Russians as had been left behind by their countrymen.

The ambulance on this occasion did its work well, and the mule chairs and litters, with which the Army had by this time been supplied, were found very useful. Num-

bers of the wounds received on the 8th of September were comparatively slight, and before the 22nd 1,000 had been discharged from hospital; but, from the nature of the service the men were employed on, a great many were shot through the chest and upper part of the body, and, as these wounds were generally dangerous, several of them proved fatal.

The strength of the Army at the commencement of the December quarter, exclusive of Land Transport and Army Works Corps, was 55,480, of which number 7,086 were absent, either sick or on command, leaving 48,394 in the Crimea, and there joined from England in the course of the quarter 2,661 recruits.

On the 15th of November a serious and destructive accident took place, how occasioned was never very satisfactorily explained; but on that day the reserve magazines of the night attack, both French and English, exploded with destructive effect, and killed and wounded a number of men.

Fortunately, the explosion took place at a period of the day when numbers were absent from camp on duty, or the loss of life would have been much greater. As it was, the English had 1 Officer and 19 men killed, and 5 Officers and 114 men wounded. The loss of the French was still greater; report said about 250.

An old windmill, full of ammunition, which was in the immediate neighbourhood, providentially escaped, though the roof was on fire and the door driven in by the concussion. The explosion destroyed much public property, and damaged or utterly destroyed several hospital huts in the immediate vicinity. Shells passed through two hospital marquees full of sick without injuring anyone. The hospital huts of the right siege-train, which were close to the magazines, and contained sixty patients at the time of the explosion, came down like a pack of cards, but only one man was slightly injured. The men who were able to move rushed from the huts on the first alarm, and those who were unable to leave the hospital crept

under the iron bed-cots, which protected them from the falling planks and timbers. Considering the quantity of powder, as well as the number of shells and rockets exploded, there was reason to be thankful that the loss of life was so small.

Much was said and written about the unparalleled sickness and mortality which took place in the British Army during the war. It certainly was very lamentable, and the toil and misery the men had to undergo at the commencement of the winter campaign of 1854-55 were very distressing; but to say that it was unparalleled is to state that which was not matter of fact, because there is no occasion to go beyond the records of the war to prove that the loss of both the allies and enemies was much heavier than that of the British force.

According to the Adjutant-General's return, 98,000 men joined the British Army in the East, exclusive of Land Transport and other civil Corps sent out for one service or another.

Total strength, 98,000. Primary admissions into Regimental hospitals, 162,013; admissions into General Hospitals by transfer or original, 56,939; total admissions, 218,952. Died of wounds or disease from April, 1854, to July, 1856, 18,059; killed in action, 2,750; total deaths, 20,809. Invalided, 11,562; total non-effective, 32,371; which gives a ratio of mortality to strength of 21·23 per cent. for the two years and a quarter that the war continued, or, if the killed in action be deducted, the percentage would be 18·42. Including the whole non-effective list, the percentage would be 33·03.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRIMEAN WAR—*Continued*

1855

In the previous Chapter some general account has been given of the sufferings of the British Army in the Crimean War, and of the difficulties with which the Medical Department in the field under Dr. Hall had to contend. A quantity of correspondence and papers which appeared in the public journals of the time is available, which will throw further light on the treatment to which the Department was subjected, notwithstanding the efforts of its Officers to overcome those difficulties. From the head of his Department in London Dr. Hall continued to receive encouragement. On the 27th of June, 1855, Sir James McGrigor wrote to him as follows:

"Several months ago I wrote you a letter which, to the best of my recollection, congratulated you and the Officers of the Department on the victories in the Crimea, but I never received any reply, so perhaps my letter might have been mislaid and never reached you. I now rejoice to congratulate you on our continued successes, and hope they will ultimately lead to a peace; but we have had another victory which comes more home to us—to wit, the exculpation of the Department in almost every case from the blame intended to be cast on it. Dr. Smith has obtained a victory over his foes, and it is declared that he did everything a man in his situation could have done. I am happy to inform you that he is gradually recovering

his health, which was greatly shaken by the unwarrantable attacks made on him.

"I am greatly disappointed to find that no notice has been taken of the noble and heroic conduct of the late Dr. Thomson, 44th Regiment, and I ventured to address the War Minister on the subject. Lord Panmure has promptly and kindly informed me that he entirely concurred with me in thinking something ought to be done, but I fear his intentions go no farther than some pecuniary grant to the aged mother of Dr. Thomson. Do you think that nothing could be obtained by some measure emanating from the Officers of the Department themselves?

"Lady McGrigor has had the pleasure of receiving a visit from Mrs. Hall, but I was deprived of that pleasure through indisposition. I shall be happy to hear that you continue in the enjoyment of health."

And again, on the 30th of June, Sir James McGrigor wrote:

"With reference to my letter to you of 27th inst., I think it would naturally suggest itself to you that my object was that the noble conduct of an Officer of the Department after the Battle of the Alma, which reflected the highest credit upon the late Dr. Thomson, and not only on himself, but on the whole Department, should not be allowed to sink into total oblivion. Finding that the only notice which reached the public was from a very able article in the English Press, I, on the 3rd of June, made a communication to Lord Panmure, the Minister for War, on the subject (copy of whose reply, dated 5th inst., I enclose). I have reason to believe that with his usual kindness and promptitude Lord Panmure has not failed to communicate with their Lordships of the Treasury, which, however, I fear, refers only to a pecuniary grant to the aged mother of Dr. Thomson. However, I am inclined to hope that, by the intervention of other and more influential and legitimate advocates, something more substantial and permanent than a small pen-

sion to the aged mother may be granted—say a tomb or small monument to be erected in the churchyard of his native parish in the Highlands of Scotland. Such a notice would tend to quicken the recruiting for the service in the Highlands. In the meantime, I would be thankful to you for such particulars as you can obtain of the late Dr. Thomson, particularly by whom he was ordered along with the soldier-servant to take charge of the wounded Russian prisoners, at what hour he proceeded to them, what instructions were given to him, and by whom, what medicines and instruments he had, how he was received by the prisoners, and all the particulars which you can shortly glean regarding him. I should feel very much obliged by an early reply."

The *Globe* newspaper, on the 17th of July, 1855, published the following protest on behalf of Dr. Hall:

"Mr. Roebuck asks, 'Who are the traitors?' Those, we reply, most especially are traitors to the public cause and the public interest who take every opportunity to run down every statesman, and,

> "'Heedless of all the anxiety he feels,
> Hang disappointment on the public wheels.'

Those are traitors—in effect, if not in intention—whose entire temper is detractive and destructive, and who, if they were themselves set to construct—were it a cock-boat—would speedily show the world how little the arts of obloquy are connected with those of organization.

"In the impending debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion, the ex-members of the Sebastopol Committee will probably have to listen to some sifting of the evidence in which they thought fit to place such implicit reliance, especially as regarded the state of things last winter at Scutari, and may possibly become sufficiently enlightened on that subject to feel less surprise than they have expressed at the report of Dr. Hall.

"As the clamour against that gentleman, the Principal

Medical Officer of the Eastern expedition, has been renewed within the last few days, it may be as well to inquire a little into the case that is brought against him. To remind his accusers that he is not here to defend his conduct against the aspersions to which it has been unceasingly exposed ever since he joined the Army would be mere waste of time. With such gentry, *les absens ont toujours tort*; and, next to the pleasure of gratifying a petty spite, or of fishing for a little ephemeral popularity, nothing better satisfies their chivalrous feelings than the reflection that they are safe from immediate exposure or retaliation. It is time, however, that this discreditable sort of game should be brought to a close. Mr. Stafford would be better employed in considering how far his evidence before the Committee can stand the test of a critical examination, than in calling for the punishment of those whom that evidence was calculated to injure. If he will turn to the pages of the pamphlet which was published last week under the title of *Whom shall we Hang?* he will find quite enough to engage all his energies in the task of self-defence, without wasting them in offensive movements. It is not impossible that he may learn from that brochure that it is more prudent to leave Dr. Hall alone than to expose himself prominently to public criticism.

"The portion of the Sebastopol Committee's Report which refers to the Scutari Hospitals is, positively, a curiosity. It states that, 'after hearing evidence affirming the disgraceful state of the hospitals,' the Committee proceeded to inquire on whom the responsibility rested. It does not state, however, that counter-evidence, exposing the falsehoods and exaggerations which had been poured upon them, was tendered to them and rejected. It does not state, what is now notorious, that the Commissioner who was sent to the East by the Duke of Newcastle, to inquire into the condition of the hospitals, wrote to Mr. Roebuck, and pointed out a number of statements made by Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Stafford, and Mr. Osborne,

which he was prepared to disprove, and which the evidence collected on the spot enabled him to disprove conclusively. It does not state that the offer was declined, and that the Committee thus evinced a determination to hear nothing except what damaged the authorities at home and abroad.

"To give weight to the assertion that the hospital was in 'a disgraceful state,' they adduce Dr. Dumbreck as an authority in their favour. 'With this confirmation by Dr. Dumbreck,' they say, after quoting a passage in his evidence, 'of the whole testimony relating to this painful subject, your Committee are at a loss to comprehend the report of Dr. Hall.' Now, we will venture to say that a more dishonest rhetorical artifice was never attempted than this. Will the reader believe that Dr. Dumbreck, who is thus made to depose against the hospitals, never set foot within their walls? He was the second Medical Officer of the Army, and accompanied it to Varna, and afterwards to the Crimea, until ill-health compelled his return to England. He was called as a witness by the Committee, and was sitting in the room when Dr. Menzies, the late Chief Medical Officer at Scutari, was examined. He heard that poor man flounder through his examination. He heard him complain of the insubordination of his inferiors, of his own ignorance of his duties, of a want of Purveyors, of orderlies, of everything, in short, to excuse his own shortcomings; and when Dr. Dumbreck was asked by the Committee to express an opinion upon the state of things as described by Dr. Menzies, he naturally exclaimed, as any other person who witnessed the exhibition would have exclaimed: 'The clashing of responsibility and confusion that'—according to Dr. Menzies—'existed in the administration of the hospitals was not creditable to our system; we *seem* to have fallen into a state of inanition: we had'—according to Dr. Menzies—'no Purveyors, no orderlies, no hospital Corps. Dr. Menzies I *believe*, from his own statement, to have been clearly overworked, and put in a position that no one man

was able to cope with.' This is the 'confirmation' given by Dr. Dumbreck 'of the whole testimony relating to this painful subject.' A reflection on the bewildering representations of Dr. Menzies is coolly palmed upon the public by this Parliamentary body as the deliberate evidence of an eye-witness. A comment upon the narrative of another is cited as corroborative evidence of its truth.

"And it is because rubbish such as this is thrust upon the public, that Dr. Hall is to be called to account, or rather to be cashiered without a trial! Because the Committee rejected all evidence which was not criminatory, Dr. Hall is to be condemned without a hearing. Because they stooped to the contemptible trick, or stumbled into the miserable blunder, of perverting the opinion of a witness on a statement of facts not within his own knowledge into a positive corroboration of that statement, a man who is serving his country some thousands of miles away is to be ruined in his profession and in his character, without an opportunity of vindicating himself. The public will not be so unjust as Messrs. Roebuck, Layard, Stafford, and Company. We beg that the world will suspend its judgment for a short time. They have not yet heard the truth respecting the state of things at Scutari last winter. They have been made the dupes of shameful misrepresentations.

"Since the mass of evidence which lay entombed in the Blue Book of the Hospital Commissioners has been disinterred by the writer of *Whom shall we Hang?* it is clear that the hospitals were never short of medicines or surgical appliances of any importance, that they were always supplied with abundance of provisions and medical comforts, including that fruitful topic of so much fable—port wine; that the portion of the barrack hospital which was occupied by patients when Dr. Hall was at Scutari—that is, in October—was in good repair, and that the famous stories of Mr. S. G. O., about rotten floors and vermin, were true only of a few rooms which were occupied by the sick for a short time after the Battle of Inkerman—

that is, in November. The insufficiency of the furniture, it will be found, was owing entirely to an accidental delay, arising partly from the miscarriage of a letter, in sending back to Scutari the stores which had been forwarded to Varna when the Army proceeded to Bulgaria; and, if Dr. Hall did not order that other articles should be purchased instantly on the spot, it was because he was in daily expectation of seeing those which he already possessed arrive in the Bosphorus. The washing of the bedding and personal linen at the General Hospital was done by a body of Armenians. The washing of the Barrack Hospital was in the hands of a contractor, and it does not appear that the man broke his contract before Dr. Hall left the hospital, as he certainly did afterwards. These statements will surprise those who have heard the confident assertions that the hospital was a dilapidated building—that it was in want of the commonest medicines, and of the most essential comforts—that there was no washing for five weeks after Messrs. Macdonald, Osborne, and Company had alighted on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and other romances of the same kind. Our statements, nevertheless, are true. They rest on the evidence gathered and printed by those Hospital Commissioners who proposed to Mr. S. G. O. to make him their colleague, and who appear to have found a better occupation for their time than the collection of idle hearsay. Let those who are so loud against Dr. Hall, and against every other absent or dead man, take heed of themselves. They live in glass houses, and it is unwise on their part to attract attention to the excessive brittleness of their habitations."

In the *Times* of the 31st of July, 1855, there appeared the following letter:

"SIR,

"I have read *Whom shall we Hang?* Let Shakespeare give the conclusion at which 99 men out of 100 would arrive after the perusal of this precious piece of special pleading:

" ' I will be hanged, if some eternal villain,
Some busy and insinuating rogue,
Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office,
Have not devised these falsehoods.
* * * * *
" ' Oh, Heaven! that such companions thou'dst unfold,
And put a whip in every honest hand,
To lash the rascal naked through the world,
Even from the East to the West.'
(*Othello*, Act IV., Scene 2).

" Strong expressions, Sir. In the present case, let us hope, they may not all be applicable, but equal terms of honest indignation rise to an honest man's lips at such an attempt to pervert truth and screen the guilty.

" ' Whom shall we hang ?'

" It is mentioned in *Guy Mannering* that the whole family of Jean Gordon (the original of Meg Merrilies) were tried for their lives in one day at Jedburgh. The jury wavered, till one man of energy and decision, who had fallen asleep, suddenly woke up, and gave his verdict thus, ' Hang them a' !'

" Alas, Sir, the nation has woke up! The culpable family is before it, but it lacks energy and boldness sufficient for the Jedburgh decision.

" ' Whom shall we hang ?'

" There is no want of the *gibier de potence*. What we look for in vain is the spirit of the stern Roman Consul, and his ringing words: ' I, lictor, obnubé caput, arbori suspendito infelici !' Oh ! for one such example, were it only *pour encourager les autres*.

" ' Whom shall we hang ?'

" Fortunately, there is a moral gibbet from the use of which the nation is not debarred, and that the author of *Whom shall we Hang?* will find to his cost if he ventures into daylight.

" I am, Sir,
" Your obedient servant,
" A COUNTRY SQUIRE."

The reference to *Whom shall we Hang?* is to a work of 315 pages on " The Sebastopol Inquiry " con-

ducted by the House of Commons. This was published in 1855. It commented on the evidence taken at the Inquiry, and drew the general conclusion that for the sufferings of the Army in the Crimea it was not fair to impute the whole blame to the Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, who did all that the means at his disposal enabled him to do. The writer could not but admit that though there had been shortcomings and mistakes in the military medical administration and in the hospital management, yet they had all been rectified as soon as improvements could be effected, and the very deficient system which had previously obtained was before long brought into working order. The amateur critics who had written on supposed defects without proper investigation, and often with gross exaggeration, were well exposed.

The *Globe* of the 1st of August, 1855, published a column in defence of the Medical Officers in the Crimea :

" A letter (which we extract elsewhere) appears in this day's *Times* from Dr. Dumbreck, fully confirming what we pointed out some little time back, with reference to the misuse made in the Report of the Sebastopol Committee of the evidence of that gentleman, to the unjust disadvantage of Dr. Hall. In this letter Dr. Dumbreck says :

" ' In the course of my examination I was led to comment on the position of these (Scutari) hospitals presented by a witness, to whose account of these establishments I had been a listener ; but I am so far from fully confirming the inference drawn by the Committee from my words, that I entirely dissent from the application of them, by which I have been most unfairly placed in seeming antagonism to Dr. Hall.'

" Dr. Dumbreck states explicitly in his letter—as we had already informed our readers from his evidence—that he could not, from his personal knowledge, have given *any information* of the state of the hospitals at Scutari at the period when their management was inculpated by Messrs. Stafford, Osborne, and others.

" Yet the Committee had the astounding—what shall we call it?—*inadvertence*—to say in their Report: ' *With this confirmation* (from Dr. Dumbreck) *of the whole testimony* relating to this painful subject, your Committee are at a loss to comprehend the report of Dr. Hall.'

" The Committee might as well have called *their own Report* a ' confirmation of the whole testimony ' on which it was, in too many places, so very indifferently founded, as have given that name to Dr. Dumbreck's ' comment ' upon evidence which, he had himself told them, he could neither confirm nor contradict.

" Everybody knows the loose manner in which evidence is taken by Parliamentary Committees. But really, when it comes to issuing Reports affecting the professional reputation of many respectable men, Parliamentary privilege is stretched rather far by the sweeping conclusions of the Committee from such evidence as that of Messrs. Stafford and Osborne. No one who knew the sanguine vanity and capacious credulity of the latter reverend journalist would have laid a feather-weight of reliance on any statement of his, not endorsed by cooler observers. And the former in several instances showed himself scarcely less egregiously gullible. As for poor Dr. Menzies, his evidence indeed spoke for itself—but it did not speak to the purpose of those who were resolved all blame should be thrown on the Government.

" Our motive for recurring to the matter is no party one. All the political mischief that could be done by last winter's exaggerations *has been* done, and we should be just as well pleased to have done with it. But it so happens that a very searching and complete exposure of those exaggerations has been published within these few weeks under the title of *Whom shall we Hang?* The parties whose ' withers are wrung ' by that exposure cannot make up their minds to sit down quietly under it. So they pop up in every practicable corner of newspaper correspondence. They had better be quiet: they will not prevent every impartial person, who desires to look

at both sides of the question, from reading the pamphlet after the Report.

"We have had some letters perfectly rabid sent to ourselves, since our notices of the pamphlet. And one of the same sort appeared in yesterday's *Times*, signed 'A Country Squire,' to which, from internal evidence, we should have little hesitation in affixing the *alias* of 'A Country Parson.' This *homo trium literarum*, whoever he is, threatens the author of the above-cited pamphlet with a 'moral gibbet' if he 'ventures into daylight.' The Country Squire, or Parson, longs passionately for someone to hang in physical earnest, were it only, as he says, "*pour encourager les autres.*" The citation is apposite. It is Voltaire's sarcasm on the readiness to hang (or shoot) Admiral Byng. We can only say that the jury who would hang a dog, whether in or out of office, on no better evidence than Mr. Sydney Godolphin Osborne's or Mr. Augustus Stafford's, is not particular to a shade!

"Since the subject has been revived, we may be tempted to recur to it. In the meanwhile, despite our own dog-day correspondents and those of our contemporaries, we strongly recommend our readers to correct their impressions from the Sebastopol Report by collating it with the Sebastopol pamphlet.

"With reference to the torrent of *general* assertion set flowing last winter, and which has run on, though more languidly, ever since—that in the appointments of functionaries attached to the Crimean expedition, and on which the well-being of those embarked in it depended, the safety of the Army and the interests of the State had been sacrificed to mere jobbing, nepotism, and family influence, it is sufficient to state that everyone of the functionaries then singled out for special obloquy—Boxer, Filder, Christie, Hall, Menzies, Andrew Smith—were men who had begun life without family interest, without powerful patrons, without aristocratic connections. One and all of them were selected for their professional qualifications and their inferred fitness for the service.

Admiral Boxer entered the Navy as an able seaman, though a gentleman by birth. He did distinguished service at Acre, and had more experience (as Sir James Graham states) 'in the embarkation and disembarkation of troops than any other Officer that I know. I looked through the list, and endeavoured to select the man that I thought the fittest. No application was ever made to me in favour of Admiral Boxer, and I selected him, and very much surprised him by giving him the appointment.'

"Captain Christie, in like manner, was only known to the Admiralty by his high professional reputation; Dr. Andrew Smith began life as a humble Assistant-Surgeon, served for years in almost every quarter of the globe, and rose slowly through every grade of his profession until he was at last selected for the office of Director-General—by the Duke of Wellington!"

Regarding one particular matter—the death of Mr. Stowe—Dr. Hall, after submitting his official report (p. 432), wrote to the Editor of the *Times* as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*August* 10*th*, 1855.

"SIR,

"When your paper of the 6th of July arrived here announcing the death of Mr. Stowe, and commenting on my conduct, and ascribing to me feelings and motives which I know I did not deserve, I wrote you a hasty letter of denial. But by this day's mail I have received an order to report all the circumstances in consequence of what passed between Mr. Peel and Mr. Milner in the House of Commons on the 13th, and I send you a copy, *not to revive discussion, or for publication*, as you will understand this correspondence is official, and I have no right to publish it, but merely to satisfy you that Mr. Stowe was not neglected in the way it was represented to you, and to relieve the distress which his family must feel at the report which has been put forth to the world. Miss Wear's note, I hope, will go far to do that, and, if

you know where they reside, perhaps you will kindly communicate with them.

"After the arrival of the post this morning I wrote to Balaklava to find out all the particulars of Mr. Stowe's death from Miss Wear, and from her I ascertained that his mother is still alive, as she mentioned that he had given her his watch to keep, and that she had preserved the handkerchief he held in his hand when dying, and that she had cut off a portion of his hair which she intended to forward to his afflicted mother at the first favourable opportunity. I mention these trifles, as they may be of interest to his family and a consolation to them to know that, as far as affectionate attention went, I verily believe he could not have met with more than he did from Mr. Hayward and Miss Wear had he been under his own father's roof. Had he not possessed so kind a friend as he did in the Rev. Mr. Hayward, I assure you the Officers' ward in the General Hospital at Balaklava would have been open to him, as it is to others unconnected with the Army, and into that ward several Sardinian Officers of rank solicited admission. The only wards reserved were the surgical wards at the Castle, into which it was not deemed advisable, for medical reasons, to admit other diseases.

"I have entered at length into this matter. I do not admit blame, and I can claim no merit for Mr. Stowe's kind treatment, beyond that which attaches to the general regulations of the Department, and the instructions given for the kind and humane treatment of all who fall sick in this country."

The restoration of the Medical Department to public favour is mentioned in the following letter from Sir James McGrigor to Dr. Hall:

"HARLEY STREET,
"LONDON,
"*August 30th*, 1855.

"Indisposition under which I have suffered has prevented my earlier reply to your letter of the 15th of July,

and likewise prevented my thanking you for the letter in which you state poor Dr. Thomson's case, whose heroic conduct is beyond all praise. On my bringing it before Lord Panmure, he immediately in warm terms expressed his entire concurrence with me as to Dr. Thomson's extraordinary merits and claims, and I am happy to inform you that a pension has been granted to his mother of £40 per year, commencing from the day of his death. I looked for something higher, but we must take what we can get for the present, as I think a better dawn is opening on the Department. You, as well as Smith, are greatly underpaid. I think that a year after I went to the Peninsula Lord Wellington obtained for me an additional pound per day, with some other advantages, but I cannot speak with certainty, having no documents to which I can refer. It is delightful for me to observe that now the Department is in more favour with the public and the meritorious exertions of the Officers are more appreciated than they were, and that altogether the black cloud which fell on us has nearly disappeared.

"I am still suffering from some rheumatic affection with debility, which disables me from writing much at a time, but I will be delighted to hear from you whenever you have a spare moment."

This letter crossed one from Dr. Hall to T. Milton, Esq., at the War Office :

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*August 26th*, 1855.

"I do most heartily despise and view with most sovereign contempt both the Sebastopol Committee and the paper abuse, but for all that, you see from Mr. Stafford's last attack on the 8th of August it has had the effect of cutting off the Department from all honorary distinction. This, I take it, is conclusive, as Mr. Peel made no reply to Mr. Stafford when he put the question in the House of Commons on the 8th. For my own part, being an

old man and my race nearly run, it matters little, but I am sorry to see the Department so utterly neglected and overlooked. Government cannot expect men to labour zealously if they take away all reward and all incentive to honourable exertion. Medical men see Officers of other Departments of the Army rewarded with rank and honours, whose professional affairs were not better managed than their own, and whose persons were not exposed to greater risks than they were on the battle-field.

"Then, again, they witness men taken from civil life whose professional qualifications are not superior, if even equal, to their own, rewarded in the most liberal, I may say extravagant, manner for comparatively trifling labours, whereas they are ground down and made serve on the poorest pittance for their rank, for one and two years —a thing unknown in any other Department of the Army.

"Take my own case, for instance, and place it in contrast with Dr. Myers, the Superintendent of the Smyrna Hospital. I have served forty years in every climate and quarter of the globe, and, if the testimony of superiors be of any value, with some degree of credit to myself and benefit to the public. I was brought from India without any solicitation of my own, and placed in charge of this Army. My pay was cut down from £5 14s. a day by £1 14s. 10d., and if my nominal command money of £1 a day, but real amount of 18s. 10d. pay be added, you will see that from a pecuniary point of view I have been a great loser by my promotion.

"Dr. Myers, who has charge of one hospital capable of containing 550 patients when full, but now occupied by less than 100 (the other day the number did not exceed 66), receives £2,000 a year, has furnished quarters provided for him, and a free table kept at the expense of 4s. 2d. a day. Dr. Myers' antecedents I know nothing of, but I am told by those who know him that he was a Colonial Assistant-Surgeon in charge of a small madhouse in Australia until thus magnificently provided for

by Government. Dr. Myers has free quarters and £5 7s. 2d. a day for taking charge of one hospital containing 66 patients. I have the detail of 100 hospitals to attend to, and a sick-list never under 5,000, and I am paid considerably less than he. The balance *per contra*, as they say in mercantile transactions, is in favour of my friend the Doctor.

'Talking of mercantile affairs, I have just had the first consignment of Oporto wine bottled that I ordered from the Consul there. It ran to four hundred bottles, is magnificent wine, far superior to anything we have yet had from the wine-merchants, and will stand the Government 17s. 9½d. a dozen. I do not know what you have been paying before, but I suspect, from what Dr. Smith mentioned in one of his letters, considerably more than this. I am afraid Lord John's constituents will not thank him for interfering with the 'fair profits of honest men' in time of war. My little Purveyor here is a trump, his only failing a love of letter-writing and fine, flourishing, high-sounding paragraphs; but how he gets through the business he has to transact frequently astonishes me.

"We are likely to have another fight soon, and I dare say it will be a bloody one. I hope it will be the last."

Some months elapsed before Dr. Hall wrote to Dr. Andrew Smith, Director-General of the Medical Department in London, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*November 10th*, 1855.

"It is true we do not always get the support from the authorities which we ought to have, and that is not encouraging, but as everyone nowadays is anxious to squander money and means broadcast, so let it be.

"I send you the correspondence about forwarding patients to the Civil establishment at Smyrna. Mr. Hawes' reasons for sending patients to Smyrna would amuse you, I think. It was not that they were requiring

accommodation, but that the expensive civil establishment employed by Government might have occupation. I was aware when I wrote my letter to you that the regulation of the pay of the civilians did not rest with you, or their extravagant salaries would not have been sanctioned, but I thought you might like to have the facts brought before you in an official shape. The other day the number of patients was as low as fifteen in Smyrna Hospital, and, when it was proposed to give over a great part of our own hospital accommodation at Scutari as barracks for the Cavalry and German legion, it was suggested by General Simpson to locate the Germans at Smyrna, and, to strengthen the proposition, Colonel Steele asked him to give me the average daily sick in the hospital for the last six months, which amounted to 105, but by a mistake it was telegraphed 25 in the first instance, and you will see by Brigadier Stork's letter that a message was sent to you at once to fill both the Smyrna and Renkroi hospitals with patients, fearful, I suppose, that some awkward questions might be put in Parliament on the subject.

"You may well imagine I was as much surprised and annoyed as you could possibly be at the appearance of and comments on your letter to me in the *Times*. The memorial of the Assistant-Surgeons was a crude affair, but nowadays it is difficult to deal with the high estimates men place on their own value; but all that will find its value within three months after peace has been signed.

"Certainly the Government has fostered these high pretensions by sending out pathologists, sanitary commissioners, and I don't know what 'issioners, with high salaries and no occupation.

"Then we have female Inspectors and Directors of Nurses, and I don't know what besides.

"The French and Sardinian medical men that visit our camp establishments admit their superiority over their own, and the French are making inquiries, and are

anxious to adopt much of our inefficient and well-abused system. When one reads such twaddling nonsense as that uttered by Mr. Bainbridge, and which was so much lauded in the *Times* because the garrulous old gentleman talked about Miss Nightingale putting hospitals containing three or four thousand patients in order in a couple of days by means of the *Times* Funds, one cannot suppress a feeling of contempt for the man who indulges in such exaggerations, and pity for the ignorant multitude who are deluded by these fairy tales.

"I shall be glad to see them knock away the feet of clay from their present image S. G. O., and the sycophantish letter he did not hesitate to read to them afterwards crowned his degradation, if such a character could fall lower.

"We have had Mr. Augustus Stafford here this autumn to pick up food for Parliamentary debate. He professed himself surprised and well pleased with our hospitals, and so did the venerable Mr. Bainbridge when he was here, though he seemed to have drunk of Lethe's stream on his way home, as no trace of anything he had seen remained in his memory, beyond the cruelty of not allowing a man three Bibles to read out of at once.

"The swing-cots on the Maltese carts are good, but they might easily have been so constructed that the cart could have carried equipment when not required for sick. The 'equirotal' wheel carriage runs easily and lightly, but is difficult to turn in a confined space. I am not speaking of these waggons which I have not examined yet, but of carriages built on the same principle which I saw in India. That, I know, was one objection to them there; but our own ammunition waggons and those of the French are made on the same principle, but in them the division facilitates turning.

"We have an abundant stock of stores on hand; the Army is healthy at present, and the demand consequently greatly diminished, but a degree of extravagance has

crept into our hospital management that it will be difficult to control hereafter. Men get credit nowadays for the amount of their expenditure; but anyone acquainted with Army hospital management knows what abuses this leads to, and then these Lady Bountifuls add to the confusion. Dr. Jameson, who has just come up from Abydos, amuses me by his account of the patients and convalescents sent down to Abydos from Scutari. He said when they came there they demanded porter and two kinds of wine daily as their full diet, and when told it could not be allowed they seemed somewhat disposed to take the law into their own hands, because they said they had been allowed it at Scutari, and as they had fought and bled for their country, they did not see why they should not have the same there.

"The mail to-day has brought out General Simpson's recall and Sir William Codrington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief. I am sorry for the change. Sir Richard Airey is going home, and is to be replaced as Quarter-master-General by Colonel Wetherall, a very efficient man.

"I have been fighting and battling to get the hospital huts put in order for the winter, but anything for the sick is such uphill work one would imagine the sick were not an integral part of an Army. The Medical Department, like the Commissariat, ought to have more independence, and be empowered to get what is necessary done in a more direct way. Our staff is complete at present, but I have many applications for leave of absence. I do not like to recommend anyone till the Army is fairly settled in winter-quarters.

"Dr. Thomson's case I think I shall be able to do something in, but I should wish a tablet to be erected to the memory of all who have died in the campaign."

Dr. Hall followed this up by another letter to Dr. Andrew Smith on the 4th of December, 1855:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"You will be glad to hear that the health of the Army in the Crimea continues good, and that cholera has nearly disappeared from Scutari; three different outbursts there have swept off seven Officers—five of them Medical—and thirty-six men. Some alteration in the hospital is being made there, which is not officially carried out yet, but of the nature of the changes you will, of course, hear from Dr. Linton. Fortunately, we are not pressed for accommodation, though some of that which we have here is not very good; but I think we shall get something effectual done now to remedy the defects, which I have been endeavouring to get accomplished ever since the beginning of August.

"Sir William Codrington evidently seems to think that Commanding Officers, Brigadiers, and Generals of Division are all ready and eager to do anything and everything for the benefit and comfort of the sick, and that the doctors want to set themselves up as an independent body—an *imperium in imperio*. Of this want of assistance and support the instances are too numerous to mention. If the doctors were independent, it would be the better for the sick, and we should have escaped much of the odium that fell on us last winter. Commandant of Artillery Sir Richard Dacres will not be approached by Superintendent-Surgeon Elliott with anything in the shape of a demand for the comfort and well-being of the sick, unless it comes through the Captain of the Troop or Battery and the Colonel commanding the Division. But the consequence is that these gentlemen are occupied with their own especial duties, and, without perhaps any intentional neglect, they either do not understand or do not think of the wants of the sick, for which they know they are not held responsible, and nothing is done.

"On Saturday I had occasion to visit some of the hospital huts of the Artillery, and found them in a wretched state of disrepair, and the sick suffering great discomfort.

This I represented to the Chief of the Staff for the Commander-in-Chief's information, which brought me a letter from Sir William Codrington, which I did not quarrel with, as it has had the desired effect; but Sir William is under a wrong impression if he thinks Regimental Officers set their Commanding Officers at defiance, and apply to me for assistance in the first instance. That, I believe, is never the case, and no application is ever made to me until every other local means has failed. I feel, unless we make an effort to right ourselves, we shall to the end of time be made the victims of public odium in the way we were last winter, being held responsible for things over which we have no control. The poor, suffering, sick soldier is a fine horse to ride off on, and the hobby has been ridden to such an extent and at such a furious rate that even the *profanum vulgus* are getting sick and tired of it. Numbers of our Medical Officers are clamorous to get away, many of them Surgeons of Regiments. I have sanctioned the applications of some few, and, as I cannot sanction all, I shall please none. Of course, each Officer thinks his own claim the strongest, and it is difficult to persuade him that you have duties to perform equally important, though not actually in accordance with his wishes.

"Dr. McDonald, Deputy-Inspector-Surgeon 42nd, Surgeon Bowen, Rifles, Deputy-Surgeon Llewellyn, have obtained leave. Surgeon Cross, 11th Hussars, Surgeon Stewart, 92nd, have been recommended leave by different Boards. Dr. Linton, after the loss of five Officers, wrote up for assistance, and I sent him Dr. Fraser. He sent me up a scheme of establishment for 4,000 sick, which I should say was liberal enough, in all conscience—an Officer for every fifteen patients, and an attendant of one kind or another for each four and a half.

"Our equipment is complicated enough as it is, and the whole of it will have to be left behind when the Army moves, and many of the luxuries the men are indulged with now must of necessity be struck off. The fur and

sheepskin coats are amusing in a climate which is milder than that of London. The wet, duty, and starvation, destroyed the men last winter, and so they would have done in any climate under the sun."

It was on receipt of the letter from Sir W. Codrington above mentioned that Dr. Hall, on the 7th of December, 1855, issued from Headquarters in the Crimea the following circular to the Medical Officers under him :

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from the Commander of the Forces, in reply to a communication of mine regarding the defective condition of some hospital huts belonging to the Royal Artillery.

"Sir William Codrington, you will see, is under an impression that Regimental Medical Officers do not identify themselves with their Regiments, but wish to be considered a separate Department.

"I am not aware that any feeling of the kind exists here; it is certainly contrary to the common usage and to my long experience of the service, nor would it be judicious if it did exist, for the interests of the sick are more effectually secured by cordial co-operation on the part of the Surgeon and Commanding Officer than by antagonism; and, acting on this supposition, I naturally infer, when references are made to me, that all local means and applications have failed in producing what is wanted; but I should be glad to be favoured with the result of your experience on this point, and to know if you have found Commanding Officers as willing to listen to, and anxious to carry out, the suggestions of Medical Officers as Sir William seems to think they are."

Dr. Hall showed his gratitude for a defence which had been offered for his Department in the following letter to Dr. Tufnell, Professor of Military Surgery, Dublin :

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*December 10th*, 1855.

"I am favoured with your kind note of the 4th inst., and feel grateful to you, as everyone in the Department ought to do, for having had the courage to defend the weak and oppressed.

"Much blame has been thrown on us for things beyond our control, and we have been made answerable for the defects and shortcomings of others, but, unfortunately, the fable of the bundle of sticks has been lost sight of by our own people, and we have no one to take our part either in or out of Parliament. The Officers of the Department feel indignant at gentlemen being brought in and paid high salaries for doing little, and not doing that little better than they could have done it themselves.

"The authorities at home plead that it was necessary to compensate gentlemen taken from civil life for the sacrifice they made in abandoning their private practice! We who know the profession and the class of men who have obtained appointments can pretty well guess the amount of loss the income tax will sustain by their absence.

"I am not saying anything, nor do I mean anything, disparaging to the gentlemen who have been brought in, but they are most of them very young men who have not long finished their studies, and you and I know very well that Surgeons and Physicians do not jump all at once into practices of five and eight hundred a year, hard cash paid down, with food and lodgings into the bargain. The Superintendents at Smyrna and Renkroi have each two thousand a year, lodgings, and a free table. At Smyrna the average daily sick has not been much over one hundred, and at one time it was as low as fifteen. Not bad pay, was it, for superintending an establishment of that magnitude?

"I suppose you have heard that a townsman of yours, Dr. Lyons, was appointed pathologist to the Army in

the East by Lord Panmure, with a salary of £3 10s. a day and rations, two assistants at £2 7s. each and rations, and an aid, a kind of bone-scraper, at I do not know what salary. Dr. Lyons has not had much occupation in his proper vocation, but, like a good man and true, he turned to soldiery and helped us in our need after the two heavy affairs in the Redan. It is not the individuals we find fault with, as all the civil gentlemen we have had up here have laboured willingly and well, and the greatest harmony has prevailed between them and their military brethren, and they are one and all entitled to my warmest thanks. At Scutari and Kulali I have heard of bickerings, but here we have had nothing of the kind, and it gratifies me to be able to say so. As I said before, it is not the individual, but the *principle* we object to. I am afraid the authorities will not do much for the Department, and, if peace come, my opinion is they will do nothing at all.

"We have had some curious and interesting cases of gunshot injuries during the campaign, and I am tabulating all the wounds by regions, which will be a curious document, if nothing better. Our amputations in the upper third of the thigh joint have been unsuccessful, or at the hip joint speedily fatal. We have one case of excision of the head of the femur out of six alive and fit to be sent home, and in all the rest life was prolonged for a month or six weeks. It is a great improvement on the fearful operation at the hip joint. Our excisions have for the most part done well. The French have been even more unsuccessful in their thigh cases than ourselves, and have now nearly abandoned the operation in the upper third altogether, allowing Nature to do the best she can. They have had a good deal of hospital gangrene, which our hospitals, I am glad to say, have been nearly free from.

"During the prevalence of cholera we lost some men suddenly; their stumps put on an unhealthy appearance, and they died in a few hours. Dr. Mowatt, who was in

charge of the hospital, took notes of this novel affection, and I hope he will publish them and benefit the profession."

Some of the questions which were constantly arising for Dr. Hall's opinion or decision are referred to in his letters to other Medical Officers and Military authorities. Thus he wrote, on the 14th of December, 1855, to Dr. Andrew Smith:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"With reference to your communication of the 14th ult. on the subject of extra or new instruments required for the Army, I have the honour to enclose communications from nearly all the Officers who have been engaged much in operative surgery, and you will see by their documents how very little is really wanted, for I do not consider such things as an apparatus for the exhibition of oxygen gas at all necessary for an Army in the field, and many of the things thought of are already in store. I should be glad, though, to be favoured with your instructions regarding the issue of new instruments. Are Surgeons of Regiments to be furnished with them free of expense? Or do you intend them for the use of General and Divisional Hospitals only? It will be necessary to have your instructions, because after this inquiry I shall be assailed on all sides for the issue of every article that has been thought of, and those who require them least will make the greatest claim for them."

To Dr. Alexander, the Principal Medical Officer of the Light Division, he wrote on the 16th of December:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"As I do not consider it either necessary or safe that any Regimental Field Hospital should have so large a quantity of wine, brandy, and malt liquor as the 90th

has at present, I request you will instruct the Medical Officer in charge to return ten dozen of each into the Divisional Store, which will leave a supply amply sufficient in my opinion for a sick-list of twenty-eight patients—viz., 7 $\frac{11}{12}$ dozens of wine, 4 $\frac{4}{12}$ dozens of brandy, 13 $\frac{9}{12}$ dozens of malt liquor."

To Major-General Windham, the Chief of the Staff, he wrote on the 17th of December, 1855 :

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"I understand from the Adjutant-General that, on account of deficiency of land transport, it is in contemplation to take the field without tents next campaign, and, as this is a subject of such vital importance from a sanitary point of view, I trust I shall be excused for urging on the Commander-in-Chief in the strongest manner that the plan be not adopted, for whether the Army take the field in the Crimea, in Kherson, or the Danubian Provinces, it would in my opinion prove alike fatal to one-half of the force in a couple of months.

"I would therefore recommend, if the present tents cannot be carried, that a small tent similar to that in use in the French and Sardinian Armies, with a slight waterproof cloth for the men to sleep on, and protect them from terrestrial emanations, be provided at once for future use."

Dr. Hall heard from an old Cape friend in London, who had some interesting information for him from the London Clubs. This was Colonel A. Josias Cloete, who wrote from the United Service Club, London, on the 19th of December, 1855 :

"When I saw Mrs. Hall in Edinburgh last month, I promised her to give you a few lines as soon as I should find leisure. Leisure never comes to a man preparing for a distant command, especially in this city of seduc-

tions, where every hour leads one into temptation; you must therefore be satisfied with a word only, and that is to tell you how uncommonly well Mrs. Hall was looking, better far than I knew her in her younger looks at the Cape, and it did me good to have a talk and a good laugh over old times. As to the little girls, they were both the very type of health, and the younger is yourself. I roared at the extraordinary likeness presented in this duodecimo edition of my old friend—the peculiar shape of the head, and even expression, if such were possible.

"As to myself, you will see that they have just given me the command of the Windward and Leeward Islands. I feel compelled to accept, and here I am consequently in all the troubles of an outfit, to me almost as irksome as receiving one of our bags of Kafir war letters. The old hands of the Club tell me that I shall like my command very much, and that the climate is really good, and the last accounts give a favourable report of the sanitary state of the Island (Barbados).

"Amongst the drawbacks of going into banishment, it is not the least of them to be absent from Europe during this very critical state of the war, for I really think, with the Russian account, that if peace be not concluded before next summer, the war will only begin in earnest. It is therefore that I feel convinced that we shall have peace. France can have no longer interest in the war, now that the Russian Power is annihilated in the East by the destruction of her fleet and her Nile Harbour. Napoleon has gained all he contemplated by the war, that of placing himself on a pedestal of power to which every Power in Europe bends: a disastrous campaign might hurl him from that position, and lose him the prestige that now attends him; the war itself, which never was popular in France, is becoming less so daily, and Napoleon can't afford to lose the stronghold he has acquired on opinion. He has, therefore, only to say 'Let there be peace,' and peace there must be, whether we like it or not. Such is the enviable position our statesmen have reduced England

to! But enough of this speculating on coming events. You have, like yourself, manfully stood the wild and ignorant abuse lavished upon you and your Department, and the time is coming—nay, it has already come—when men are ashamed of their indiscriminate abuse of what they know nothing of, and you will not be much longer, I am sure, without receiving those well-earned rewards to which both your devotion to the service, and your talents in your professional duties so justly entitle you. If so many have abandoned their post, you have stood firm, though even those whose duty it was to stand by you shrank from it, and left you to be assailed. Now that you have got the third Commander-in-Chief, will matters mend and give greater satisfaction? I doubt it. And judging from the little that has as yet come before the public, from the hands of General Codrington, I should say that the former Chiefs were inefficient, and that the present one will prove incapable if ever a serious difficulty occurs for the display of his military talents! His writings as given to the public are those of schoolboys, and, if he wield his sword no better than his pen, the Lord have mercy on the Army! Sir Colin Campbell has just left this; he spoke out like a man, I am told, and astonished Her Majesty and Prince Albert; but, as one of our wits said, there was no resisting a little Windsor soap. He distinctly told the Queen that it was certainly not his intention to return, that it was impossible his services could be desired after the affront that had been offered him by Her Majesty's Government in offering him Malta, and thus making a Drill Sergeant of him, etc., whereupon, Her Majesty telling him that she *wished* him to return, he answered that Her Majesty's wish was a command, and that he would therefore be prepared to go, whether as a General or a private soldier, carrying his pack, adding, 'And that I can do too!' upon which Her Majesty held out her hand for him to kiss, and then the stubborn Highlander was conquered!

"I believe he failed, however, in getting his exact

position defined. He is told that he is to have a separate *Corps d'Armée*, etc., but, when he came to particulars, there was the usual evasion, and I am told here he has not succeeded in getting any definitive order upon it, not even, I believe, as relates to the Staff of this supposed *Corps d'Armée*, and it certainly appears strange to me how an old soldier like Sir Colin should believe in an arrangement which never could work; for, after all, our Army will never be above 50,000 men, and surely these need no more *separate* Commanders! As it is, the evils of a French, an English, a Sardinian, a Turkish Chief are more than sufficient to ruin any Army. What will a subdivision, then, not do? Codrington and Colin Campbell's jealousy will complete the work!

"And now, my dear fellow, write to me in my banishment, when your letters are on safe ground, as you were right in not writing to me during all the turmoil and chaos period of the campaign. Whenever people asked me, 'But who, then, would you make Commander-in Chief?' my invariable answer was, 'Dr. Hall!' By-the-by, there is no doubt but that our friend Eyre would have fallen into the Chief Command but for his infernal temper, and not being a Guardsman!

"Adieu!"

As Principal Medical Officer, Dr. Hall had occasion to address the Military authorities, in the person of Major-General Windham, on certain questions, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*December 23rd*, 1855.

"I have the honour to bring under the notice of the Commander of the Forces that complaints are still made of insufficiency of fuel for the stoves in the hospital huts.

"This, I think, arises in part from the allowance having been fixed by rations instead of by weight, as some misunderstanding appears to have existed regarding the amount of a ration, most people assuming the soldiers'

present allowance of fuel to be a ration, whereas, on more carefully examining the General Orders, it appears to comprise a ration and a half.

"Perhaps the difficulty might be met by allowing extra fuel to be drawn on emergencies like that of the 19th, when the thermometer fell to 2½°, and this could be arranged by the Divisional authorities without a permanent increase of fuel being ordered."

Three letters from Dr. Hall to Dr. A. Smith, dated the 26th, 27th, and 28th of December, 1855, on hospital affairs, afford evidence of the continuation of Dr. Hall's troubles:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"Having had occasion to draw the attention of Medical Officers to the large amount of their hospital expenditure, and to the system of accumulating large quantities of stores in Regimental hospitals, I consider it necessary to put you in possession of the particulars in case any question should be asked on the subject, for nowadays it has become so much the custom to make appeals through the public Press in place of through the constituted authorities, that one never knows what may happen.

"Had this expenditure and accumulation of stores been necessary for the welfare of the sick, I should have remained silent, but knowing as I do, from my past experience of Army hospitals, that this very facility of obtaining all that is demanded only tends to waste, extravagance, and peculation, on the part of the hospital servants, I considered it my bounden duty to interfere, and endeavour to restrain this wasteful system of hospital expenditure, alike foreign to the soldiers' habits, and unnecessary for their proper medical treatment, and in so doing, I dare say I shall neither obtain credit nor thanks for my endeavour to protect the public interests.

* * * * *

"In recommending Logan for promotion, you have advanced a useful and good man, and, if efficient service is any recommendation, I have no hesitation in renewing my application in favour of Dr. Gordon, who is without exception one of the best Divisional Officers I have. When Gordon went on the Kinburn expedition, I had to put Staff-Surgeon McDonnell in charge of his Division, and then the difficulty was how to get rid of him; to go into the field with him in charge of a Division would be a serious inconvenience. However, McDonnell's departure on leave gave me an opportunity of replacing Gordon in charge of his own Division on his return. Between ourselves, you may provide for McDonnell if you can; I can spare him from this. Jameson is great in little things, but not a man for field work, or the charge of a Division. I should be glad if Jameson and all the seniors were provided for, but I should not be anxious to have them on service, as their seniority interferes with better men. Gordon is first-rate; never creates unnecessary difficulties, and I should be glad to have him promoted and have him with me if you feel it can be done. He has done his work honestly and well without any selfish object, and such men are invaluable.

"Home is an intelligent first-class man also. I put him at the head of the Pathological Board in camp, and I hope we shall produce as creditable a display as those who were sent out on such magnificent pay.

"By the way, talking of that, I must tell you of a piece of Dr. Logan's underhand dealing which has just come to my knowledge and astonished me, if anything could astonish one nowadays; and the dignified and proper reproof he received equally delighted me and put me on better terms with my kind. Dr. Lyons, you know, came out here in the summer on a kind of roving commission he had from the Minister of War, but, having no occupation in his proper vocation, he raised himself in my estimation by volunteering to take charge of cases forwarded after the two attacks on the Redan. This

went on for some time, then came the question of the wretched specimens which I wrote to you about, and which he said he should represent to Lord Panmure. After that, he took upon himself to order up one of his assistants from Scutari on his own authority, either to help him to do nothing, or else Mr. Doyle was ambitious of wearing a Crimean medal, which I verily believe was the real secret of his coming up, as he did not stop many days after his name appeared in General Orders, which, from his subsequent application for a medal with this extract from General Orders, was his claim for the honour, and evidently all he wanted.

"When Mr. Doyle arrived in camp, there being no authority for his coming up, Dr. Mowatt very properly declined to include him in the rations return. This led to a reference to me, and I naturally asked on whose authority he had been ordered up. Dr. Lyons said he had ordered him up, and on my remarking that either my authority or that of the Principal Medical Officer at Scutari ought to have been obtained, he replied: 'He is under my orders.' 'Oh, very well, then, you had better apply for rations for him yourself, as I do not consider his services necessary here.' 'That is a reflection on me.' 'Not at all, but this gentleman I know nothing of.'

"This brought out an apology, that he had erred not intentionally, but from want of knowledge of the rules of the service, and as Mr. Doyle was entitled to rations at any rate, I got him put in orders that he might draw them with the Army in the field. This is a long preface to what I have to say, but it appears all these things rankled in the worthy doctor's mind, and when he was on the eve of quitting the Crimea, he wrote a private note to Mrs. Bridgman, the Mother Superior in charge of the Sisters of Charity at the General Hospital at Balaklava, asking her if she had any suggestions to offer or complaint to make about the management of the hospital, and that, if she had, he was going to London, and

would lay them before Lord Panmure. Mrs. Bridgman rebuked him by writing and telling him that complaints she had none, and any suggestions that struck her she should make to Dr. Hall, under whose orders she was serving.

"Now, my dear Smith, if we had been as honestly dealt with by others as by this pure and single-minded lady, we should have escaped much of the odium that has been laid upon us for self-laudation and newspaper stuff.

"An effort is being made by Miss Nightingale to get these nurses sent away. A Colonel Lefroy has arrived, and I received a letter from him on the subject, but I think the contrast of expense, to say nothing of efficiency, between these quiet people and Miss Nightingale's establishment will astonish the authorities. I am waiting until I can get accurate data of the items of expense before I write an answer, and when I do I will send you a copy.

"I have commenced my periodical inspection of the hospitals, and, as the Sanitary Commissioners expressed a wish to go round with me, I have taken them, as it affords them a good opportunity of seeing all our establishments. It is a good ten days' labour, but I am anxious you should have a complete statement of our equipment both in use and in store.

"I have drawn up a table, with the meteorological observations and their influence on disease for six months from the 1st of April to the 3rd of September, which I think will please you, and you may perhaps think it worth while to show it to Lord Panmure and get it published in the transactions of one of the scientific societies."

"BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.

"The letter in the *Times*, though very annoying, I do not regret, as it will afford Mr. Bakewell an opportunity of proving his assertions, and the world at large a means of judging of the grounds on which charges are

trumped up against Medical Departments, and the character of the *Times* correspondents who now affect to rule the world.

"It has been a source of great annoyance to everyone connected with the General Hospital, and poor Dr. Mowatt has been made quite sick with vexation. The civilians connected with the hospital were equally indignant when the paper appeared, and I believe wrote a refutation to the *Times*; not that the editor will publish one single word of what they have written, and the advantage taken by Mr. Stafford and others of the protracted privilege of their position to insult and vilify those who had no power of reply or defence is cowardly. That the British House of Commons should be so lost to all feelings of justice as to cheer the scandalous assertions of an anonymous newspaper writer is the climax of degradation; even pseudo-philanthropy cannot bear them out in such an act. Had the accusations all been as true as they are false, it would have been a subject for a grave legislative body to lament and punish, but not, by rival shouts, rejoice at.

"This miserable penny-a-line youth came out in all probability engaged to do some such dirty work. It is evident he did his wretched clap-trap, and the allusion to the *Times* Fund Commission proves his vocation and the source from which he expected his emolument to spring. I wish the party and the paper joy of their bargain. I have submitted the matter to the Commander of the Forces, but in place of having a medical inquiry I have recommended a mixed Court with Major-General Eyre as President, Colonel Munro, 39th Regiment, and Dr. Gordon as members, and I have no doubt that inquiry will be searching and true, as the Deputy-Judge has been permitted to attend the Court and superintend the proceedings. There is just so much of truth in the published letter as to give a colour to some of the statements; others are perfectly untrue, and the whole is overdrawn and highly coloured."

Meanwhile Dr. Hall was not altogether forgotten in England in the distribution of honours. On the 10th of January, 1856, he acknowledged, to the Secretary to the Military Board in London, the receipt of a medal for the Kafir war, somewhat tardily forwarded to him. But he had the greater gratification of being appointed a Knight Commander of the Honourable Order of the Bath on the 4th of February, 1856, on which Sir James McGrigor, writing on the 7th idem, congratulated him as follows:

"3, HARLEY STREET,
"LONDON.

"It is with very great pleasure that I congratulate you on the honour conferred upon you by Her Majesty, which appeared in the last Gazette, and which your services have so well merited.

"Wishing to you many years to enjoy this distinction, as well as to Lady Hall,

"Believe me,
"Ever very truly yours."

And on the 8th idem, another letter from Mr. Walter McGrigor, of the same family, to Sir John Hall was very welcome:

"17, CHARLES STREET,
"ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
"LONDON.

"I am not going to take up your time with a long letter, but cannot let the mail leave without offering my congratulations on the honour which has been conferred on you. The Insignia of the Bath are indeed a just tribute to Sir John Hall, K.C.B., the Inspector-General of Hospitals, the long, zealous, and faithful discharge of your duties in so many stations. You have many friends who will rejoice at your having received this distinguished mark of approbation and of royal favour, but none are more truly delighted than the members of our family. My father has twice expressed to me his great gratification both on your own account as well as his, from its

being a recognition in your person of the approbation of the services of the Officers of that Department to which he is so warmly attached. I am glad to say that both my mother and he are pretty well. My father continues to take much interest in all the stirring events. The prospect of peace does not, I think, give very general satisfaction. John Bull has become so belligerent an animal that he wishes to cover British arms with yet more glory.

"I met a friend of yours yesterday, Colonel Campbell, 90th, who expressed much pleasure at your receiving the well-merited distinction."

In *The British Expedition to the Crimea*,* edition of 1877, Sir W. H. Russell stated that after the publication of the list of brevets, promotions, and decorations of the Bath, etc., Dr. Hall addressed an energetic and reasonable letter to Dr. A. Smith, animadverting on the exclusion of Army Surgeons from the rewards bestowed on Staff and Regimental Officers. His letter was laid before Lord Panmure, who pleaded ignorance of their deserts, as Lord Raglan had never said a good word for them.

In anticipation, it may be mentioned that an investiture took place on the 6th of June, 1856, at the Headquarters in the Crimea, by the hands of General Lord Gough, who was commissioned by Her Majesty to proceed to the Crimea for that purpose, as several French, and other, Officers had had the Order conferred upon them.

Sir John Hall showed his gratitude for the honour he had received in the following letter to Dr. Andrew Smith:

"CRIMEA,
"*February 26th*, 1856.

"The mail has brought out my nomination to the honour of the Bath. I know it is to your exertions I owe this mark of Her Majesty's favour, and I feel grateful

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to you for it. Personally I believe I have as little vanity as most men, but I prize this mark of favour for the gratification it will give to my friends, and the complete answer it is to the malice of my enemies. I am disappointed, though, at not seeing your name in the list, as I had expected, but I hope they intend to reward you with higher rank, which I think they ought to do, for (and I make the observation with no intention of flattering you) they would find it difficult to replace you.

"The distribution of honours has to a certain extent given satisfaction, but nothing human can please every one. I am rejoiced to see so liberal an instalment to commence with, and when the new pay warrant comes out, the Department will have cause to be thankful to you whom they have not always used well.

"We have reached the climax of good health, as there has been no death during the last week, and that, too, in a force of between 42,000 and 43,000 men."

And on the 28th of February, 1856, he wrote to Lord Panmure:

"CRIMEA.

"I trust I may be permitted to express my thanks to you for the honour you have done me in submitting my name to Her Majesty for the gracious mark of favour which has just been conferred on me by nominating me a Knight Commander of the Honourable Order of the Bath.

"Apart from the personal devotion and gratitude I feel to Her Majesty, this mark of her royal favour is peculiarly valuable to me. It is at once a reward for my anxious toil, a satisfaction to my friends, and the best answer that can be given to those who wrong us."

But Sir John Hall had other matters, besides personal honours, requiring his attention, as the following letters show. One, to Dr. Andrew Smith, is dated the 4th of February, 1856:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"SEBASTOPOL.

"The Sanitary Commissioners have recently addressed two reports to the Commander of the Forces out here. One is on the hospitals, the other on the men's huts, and sanitary concerns of the camps generally. Both are fair and liberal, and as they will in all probability be sent to you, or, at all events, be made public, I think it right to put you in possession of a letter which I have addressed to the Commander-in-Chief when the first report on the hospitals was sent to me by him. My letter of the 27th of December on the state of the hospitals of the First Division I had the honour to forward to you, and I now transmit a copy of my communication of the 7th of January, because I find it embraces the points the Commission have reported on, at least the main points, for as to what may happen here next hot season, I suspect the Army will be little concerned in that.

"Their objection to the site of the huts for part of the Highland Division is quite correct: it had originally been selected for the hospital, but I objected to it for the reason they mention, though I question whether the locality had any influence in producing the eight or nine cases of cholera that occurred in the 92nd Highlanders soon after their arrival in the Crimea."

Another letter of the same date to Lieutenant-Colonel Lefroy runs as follows:

"Government has, with a liberality almost unbounded, placed everything that is desirable within the reach of Medical Officers, and our Field Hospitals possess comforts, I may say luxuries, unheard of in any former war. I think I may venture this assertion without any intention of either deceiving the home authorities or beguiling the Commander-in-Chief into security, as I was accused by the Sebastopol Committee of doing last year about the Scutari hospitals."

On the 8th of February, 1856, he wrote to Dr. Williams, Principal Medical Officer, First Division:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"In the *Times* of the 23rd of January I notice in connection with the proceedings of the first meeting of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the First Division that my confidential letter of the 7th of December enclosing the Commander-in-Chief's letter of the 3rd is appended to them as part of the transaction. I can hardly imagine this to have been done without your knowledge or approbation, as the subject was quite foreign to the question under discussion.

"A query has come about the condition of the hospital accommodation of the Second Brigade of the First Division, and I beg to be informed what additions have been made since my inspection of the 27th of December. Are all the sick in huts at present? And if not, are the marquees properly boarded? Is the hospital hut still retained as a library and reading-room that was taken possession of by the Brigadier's order for that purpose?"

Again, on the 12th of February, 1856, Sir John Hall writes to Dr. Andrew Smith:

"HEADQUARTERS,
"CRIMEA.

"The Army is in splendid health, only seven deaths in the week, and one of those a fit of apoplexy from drunkenness, which is as low a ratio of mortality as you can well expect, and the sick do not exceed 4½ per cent.

"Our supplies of all kinds are, and have been for a long time, ample in every respect, but I must own I view this change in the mode of store-keeping with apprehension."

And another letter of the same date to Dr. Andrew Smith :

" I have the honour to return the Rev. Mr. Cannon's essay on cholera, which was contained in your communication of the 18th of January, 1856, No. 15626/3.

" It is quite correct that men who arrived in June, July, and August suffered more immediately from cholera, as the disease then prevailed epidemically in camp, than those who landed in January, February, and March, when the disease was not known in camp ; but if Mr. Cannon means to assert that the men who arrived in January, February, and March were exempt from cholera when it appeared, then he labours under a grievous mistake.

" No one attempts to deny that pure air, good food, and pure water are essential to health, and, so far as circumstances would permit, these were duly attended to ; but an Army in the field, engaged in operations like those of the Siege of Sebastopol, must expect to meet with difficulties and privations that are unknown in fixed quarters at home.

" That cholera was prevalent in camp during the summer is but too true, but in the 72nd Highlanders neither bad water nor crowded tents could have produced it, as it made its appearance in the Regiment when it was on board ship, engaged in the Kertch Expedition, and far away from the camp before Sebastopol, where at that time it had never been.

" New-comers certainly suffer more than those who are acclimatized, but this is not confined to those who arrive in the summer, as the 9th, 14th, 39th, 46th, 90th, and 97th Regiments that arrived in winter in 1854, or early in 1855, suffered infinitely more both from cholera and other diseases than the 72nd did. Next mail, or, at all events, very soon, I hope to be able to send you the opinions of the Medical Officers on the points mooted by Mr. Cannon."

On the 17th of February, 1856, he wrote to J. Scott Robinson, Esq., Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief, Scutari:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"I have the honour to transmit a letter from Mr. Fitz-Gerald on the subject of our hours and Sunday labour, which he has, with my sanction, been compelled to resort to, to bring up the vast arrear duty that was bequeathed to him partly by the inefficiency and inadequacy of his own establishment at the commencement of his labours in Balaklava; but I believe his accounts are now in such a state of forwardness that I hope he will be able to abolish a system which no one advocates, and which nothing but the spur of absolute necessity would ever induce anyone to adopt."

Sir John Hall was not disposed to accept unfavourable comments in the English newspapers without contesting them, as appears from his letter of the 3rd of March, 1856, to Dr. Smith:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ult. enclosing a second extract from the *Times* newspaper (of the 12th ult.) respecting the cases of sufferers from frost-bite sent from the Crimea to the hospitals at Renkroi, and in reply would beg to refer you to my letter of the 4th ult., enclosing the return of the number and causes of frost-bite in the Army; and also to my letter of the 28th ult. forwarded by last mail, answering the paragraph which appeared in the *Times* newspaper of the 30th of January."

Again, Sir John Hall was not unmindful of the services of his subordinates, as this letter, which he received from Mr. R. C. Mossman, Dispenser of Medicines, shows:

"ARMY MEDICAL STORES,
"ARUNDEL STREET,
"STRAND,
"*April 2nd*, 1856.

"With reference to correspondence respecting remuneration for my horse, I have thought it requisite to acquaint you that I have been re-appointed a Dispenser of Medicines, and am under orders for China. Should you have any communication to make to me, I have given you my present address.

"I must thank you for the kind manner in which you brought my claims to the notice of the Director-General, as having been the means of giving me re-employment."

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CHAPTER XV

THE CRIMEAN WAR—*Continued*

1855

As Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea, Dr. Hall had to bear the brunt of personal attacks and public criticism on the whole system of medical relief for the soldiers and on the management of the hospitals, including the conduct of the nurses attached to them. The semi-independence of some of the latter added materially to his labours and anxieties. The death of Mr. Stowe on the 22nd of June, 1855, was the subject of much inquiry, in consequence of his position on the staff of the *Times* as a "Commissioner," or "Reporter," or "Distributor of the *Times* Fund for Sick and Wounded," for he is variously described in the numerous reports on the case. He fell ill of the complaints common on the campaign while he was in the lines before Sebastopol, was moved down to Balaklava, and died in the house of the Rev. Mr. Hayward. He was visited by a number of Medical Officers, Regimental Surgeons, and others, and received every attention, but appears to have been a somewhat difficult patient. It will be sufficient to quote some of the reports, as showing the trouble which one case could give when the invalid had influential support. One of the doctors, Joshua Paynter, First-Class Staff-Surgeon, wrote to Dr. Hall as follows:

"THIRD DIVISION CAMP,
"BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*July* 31*st*, 1855.

"In reply to your note of yesterday, I beg to forward the following circumstances regarding the late Mr. Stowe, one of the *Times* reporters:

"On the evening of the 17th of June last I was asked by Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, to visit Mr. Stowe, who had been suffering from diarrhœa for some days. I immediately went to Mr. Russell's house, which, by the way, is the most comfortable abode I have ever entered since my sojourn in the Crimea, and found the invalid suffering from the usual symptoms of the disease. He stated that he had been attended by the Assistant-Surgeon attached to the Commissariat and Land Transport Corps of the Fourth Division, and also by the Principal Medical Officer of the Fourth Division; but that, as he was not improving, he wished very much to go down to Balaklava, to stay with Mr. Hayward, the clergyman. I did not prescribe for him, as I found that he had every attention necessary, and was properly treated; but I offered to get him anything in the shape of nourishment which he might fancy; but he stated that he should only like a little tea, which I sent him from the Commissariat Officers of the Fourth Division, from whom he had, during his illness, received the most unremitting kindness.

"After visiting Mr. Stowe, I recommended that he should be removed to Balaklava, according to his wishes; and Mr. Russell, acting on my suggestion, obtained from General Bentinck a very nice vehicle to convey the sick gentleman to Balaklava. I think I saw Mr. Stowe three times in the course of an hour, and, after offering my services in any way, I was obliged to leave. As you are aware, I had to get my marquee and hospital arrangements ready for the attack in the morning of the 18th of June.

"As for Mr. Stowe having made an application for admission into a military hospital in camp, *decidedly not!* I have made the most particular inquiries from Assistant-Surgeon Ramsay, who attended him, and he states most positively that Mr. Stowe never expressed a wish of the kind; indeed, as I said before, Mr. Russell's house is a perfect model of comfort, and no invalid could have been better housed or better attended to in every way, so far

as I saw myself, and Mr. Ramsay tells me that he visited his patient almost every hour in the day, and always 'got up' at night to see if he wanted anything!

"I questioned the man yesterday who took charge of Mr. Stowe to Balaklava, and he stated that they left the Fourth Division camp at 2 a.m. in the morning of the 18th of June, arriving at Mr. Hayward's house at 4½ a.m.

"I cannot close this communication without expressing my extreme disgust at the unfounded attack which has been made on you by the *Times* newspaper, and also my surprise at Mr. Russell's silence on this subject, as no one is so well aware how kindly the late Mr. Stowe was attended to by the Medical Officers and others of the Fourth Division, and how fallacious, to say the least of it, every statement made by that journal has been."

The report of the head nurse, Miss Wear, shows the attention given to Mr. Stowe's case:

"On the 18th of June I heard Mr. Stowe had come down to Mr. Hayward's quarters ill, and that a nurse would be a comfort for the night. I immediately sent one, who returned in the morning, Mr. Stowe not requiring her services during the day, when he had the brotherly or, were it possible, more than brotherly attention of his friend, and the services of the two orderlies. The following evening I again sent a nurse, and the day afterwards, hearing he had expressed a wish to see me, I spent some part of the morning with him. This was the first time I saw Mr. Stowe. He appeared extremely weak, although not suffering much pain. He expressed himself much pleased with having the nurse to sit up with him, and the other attentions he received from the hospital. I had sent him everything he might fancy—new milk, soda-water, beef-tea, etc., etc. Mrs. Davis made a nice little light pudding; she also made chicken-broth, etc., for his dinner. He occupied the large room, which forms the upper story of Mr. Hayward's house, and is used for Divine Service. He did not appear to think himself in

danger, but regretted that he must be out of his friend's way on Sunday on account of church. I satisfied him by saying a portion of the room could be screened off. I inquired particularly whether there could be anything more done for his comfort. He said not, and I left, promising to return the next day. The nurse remained with him during the day, and of course the night (the *fourth* night he had a female attendant). The next morning during prayers (7.30) an orderly came to say Mr. Stowe was worse. I became much alarmed, wrote off to Dr. Hughes, who was confined to bed on board the *Walmer Castle*, hastened my hospital business, and went to him, determined not again to leave him. I got there between nine and ten. The nurse told me there had been a change since five in the morning. I found him greatly altered, and with symptoms which left no hope of amendment. A Military Doctor named Dr. O'Connor called, and poor Dr. Hughes left his bed and to my surprise made his appearance, looking more dead than alive, and nearly paid with his life for this last act of attention to Mr. Stowe. Dr. Hughes at once saw that all would soon be over. Still, we continued trying every means of restoring him by mustard applications to his chest and legs. He appeared to rally for a time. He was always perfectly collected, generally speaking about his own disease. When I took off the mustard, he asked me to put oil on the part, saying his mother had done so when he was ill the August previous. The nurse and myself never left him. Mr. Hayward was constantly in and out of the room, praying by him and attending him. The last time he left his bed I held him in my arms; the last time he spoke was to me. I was giving him some effervescing lemonade, and he asked me whether I thought the acid would be injurious. He sank rapidly after one o'clock, and expired gently between two and three on the 22nd of June. His intellect never seemed to fail him; his countenance was bright until the last!

"Dr. Hughes never left the house until all was over.

I remained until evening, leaving his remains as they were to be placed in the coffin. Assisted by those present, I did everything for him. No stranger's hands touched him. These small incidents may be a comfort to his mother, to whom I intend to write to assure her that nothing was left undone for his comfort from the time he consented to come into Balaklava. He was first attended by Dr. Hughes, whose illness afterwards obliged Dr. Archer to take his place. He was placed in a large airy room, he had everything from the hospital and from me which could be the least use to him, and in Mr. Hayward he had a brother and more than a brother! If I can give any further information, I shall be most happy to do so. I clearly remember every circumstance, for Mr. Stowe's death was one which I can never forget!

"I have written these lines in haste, as the orderly is waiting. I know Dr. Denman hoped to have had Mr. Stowe at his hospital, and Mr. Hayward was arranging for his return to England."

The case came before Dr. Hall, who had to report upon it to England:

"BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*August* 10*th*, 1855.

"In reply to your confidential communication of the 26th of July, regarding the death of Mr. Stowe, the distributor of the *Times* Fund for Sick and Wounded, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Minister at War, that my acquaintance with Mr. Stowe was limited to an introduction on his arrival in the Crimea, and my knowledge of his last illness to what I learnt after his death.

"Since this subject has been under discussion, the Rev. Mr. Wright says that he spoke to me about Mr. Stowe, and it is very possible he may have done so, but I have no recollection whatever of the circumstance, and it is quite clear from my observation to Mr. FitzGerald, the Purveyor, when he reported Mr. Stowe's death to me,

that I could not have understood of whom Mr. Wright was speaking, and must have thought it was one of his own Department, as a short time previous there had been a discussion about the Rev. Mr. Parker's occupying one of the large, recently-erected surgical huts at the Castle as a chapel, which was overruled by Lord Raglan.

"Mr. Stowe met with the greatest kindness and attention from the Medical Department, both in the lines before Sebastopol, where he occupied a comfortable iron hut, and after his removal to Balaklava, where he was accommodated in the house of the Rev. Mr. Hayward, Garrison Chaplain, and attended with brotherly affection by him.

"Mr. Stowe was sent down on the morning of the 18th of June to Balaklava in General Bentinck's covered car, and I think the enclosed correspondence will convince the most sceptical that the Medical Department has nothing to accuse itself of regarding that gentleman. For my own part, I neither admit blame nor claim merit in the matter, though it must be owned I have received no small share of virulent abuse concerning it."

Dr. Hall felt the attacks on himself, as his letter to the *Times* (p. 397) and these few lines to his wife show:*

"I have no copy of these letters. If you think it worth while to send them to the Editor of the *Times*, it would be well to take one. I have no very high opinion of either *his* truth or honour, whatever he may think of mine."

Public opinion in England had become so excited by the harrowing accounts of the sufferings of the Army in the Crimea published in the newspapers that it immediately turned its attention to finding a victim for its wrath in the Medical Department, and to providing a remedy, by the despatch of Miss Florence Nightingale and a staff of nurses to the seat of war. They were officially under the orders of the Principal Medical Officer. With Dr. Hall, therefore, Miss Nightingale had to communicate,

* See p. 530.

and many letters passed between them concerning various points of hospital management. As, however, it has not been possible to obtain from her executor permission to publish Miss Nightingale's letters written to Dr. Hall and Miss Wear, only Dr. Hall's communications can be given *in extenso*. The task of carrying on so heavy an exchange of letters must have been a serious addition to the actual duties devolving upon Miss Nightingale and her staff, as well as upon Dr. Hall and the Medical Department represented by him. Such questions as the withdrawal of nurses from the General Hospital, Balaklava, and their concentration during the hot weather upon the Castle Hospital, Balaklava, demanded arrangement. The point concerning the removal of Miss Wear and her staff of nurses to the Monastery Hospital was also a debatable subject, and although on many matters in their official relations Miss Nightingale and Dr. Hall could not always see eye to eye, they nevertheless seem to have been cordially disposed as far as the amenities of life and social intercourse were concerned. Thus it appears from the letters exchanged that during the summer of 1855 Miss Nightingale had repeatedly to thank Dr. Hall for his kindness throughout her illness, when fever obliged her for a time to give up her hospital duties, and she frequently acknowledged his kind interest in her health. Many other courtesies which she received from him are also mentioned in her correspondence.

Miss Wear and her nurses were withdrawn in September, 1855, from the General Hospital, Balaklava, with the full approval of both Dr. Hall and Miss Nightingale. Regarding this order, Miss Wear wrote the following letters to Dr. Hall:

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"*September 24th*, 1855.

"I was surprised on receiving the enclosed from Miss Nightingale, but as I said when I last had the pleasure of seeing you that my only wish was to obey my superiors, and I now hear you wish that I should leave Balaklava,

I have only to regret your decision, and to sincerely hope that it is *not* caused by any neglect of duty on my part, which must have been wholly unintentional.

"Having been here during all the trying season, I certainly much regret now leaving Balaklava."

"*Monday, October 1st,* 1855.

"I beg to thank you very much for your kind note of Friday evening, and in answer allow me to assure you that in permitting me to proceed to the Monastery you confer on me the greatest possible favour, for which I sincerely promise, by God's help, to exert myself so unremittingly for the ease and comfort of the hospital as to prove to you my deep sense of the obligation.

"Miss Nightingale, I consider, wishes me to feel myself from this day entirely released from all obligation to her and her orders. I therefore, Sir, place my services completely at your disposal, and henceforth wish to obey *only* your orders and recognize you only as my superior. Therefore, whenever you desire I shall be ready to go to the Monastery at a very few hours' notice.

"I should leave Balaklava with extreme regret did I not know that, confided to the care of the amiable and good Mrs. Bridgman, the hospital will not miss my presence."

For reasons which Miss Nightingale explained to Dr. Hall, as Principal Medical Officer, she did not wish to retain Miss Wear upon her staff, so the latter lady was eventually sent to the Monastery.

On the 6th of October, 1855, came two more letters from Miss Wear:

"I take the liberty of asking you to read a letter I have addressed to Miss Nightingale. I did not feel authorized to make use of your name, therefore have avoided it. Should I have written anything you disapprove, may I beg you will say so, and believe that

"I remain,

"Your very obedient servant."

" I have to apologize for troubling you with these few lines, but having been offered the services of a respectable woman, the wife of a Sergeant Bracebridge, of the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, I take the liberty of asking if you would approve of and allow her to be desired to come to Balaklava from Scutari Barracks, where she now is. Her husband is attached to the Ambulance Corps here, and she is a woman of forty-five years of age, and formerly a servant in respectable families.

" I often fear Mrs. Davis may fail at the last and not feel equal to a winter in the Crimea; even in the event of her health allowing her to remain, there would be ample work at the Monastery Hospital for a second female servant."

The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy with their Superior, Mrs. Bridgman, came out in December, 1854, to serve under Miss Nightingale's orders, and were stationed partly at the General Hospital of Scutari, which was immediately under Miss Nightingale's care, and partly at Kulali, which latter hospital was placed more directly under the orders of the General Officer commanding in the Bosphorus. Mrs. Bridgman appears to have offered her services and those of her thirteen nurses to Dr. Hall, which were accepted by him for the General Hospital, Balaklava. Miss Nightingale, however, considered that either her consent or that of the General Officer should have been requested before making such a move, especially since her instructions from the War Office forbade the stationing a proportion of more than one-third at most of Roman Catholic nurses in any military hospital. Dr. Hall's opinion in this case was that the General Hospital at Balaklava would be better under the care of Roman Catholic Sisters only, seeing that the patients there were principally Roman Catholics and non-Christians. The question of proselytism seems to have had something to do with the matter, as in certain instances it was asserted that the Sisters' services partook more of the nature of missionary than medical work.

In reply to a lengthy and formal communication on these affairs, and to another requesting permission to inspect one of the hospital establishments, Dr. Hall wrote to Miss Nightingale as follows :

" Our hospitals are open at all times to our friends, and Dr. Mowatt, I am quite sure, will be most happy to show you the establishment, and, what is more, he ought to feel honoured and proud of your visit. I regret I shall not be able to attend you, but I will write to Dr. Hadley, to whom you are known, to accompany you from Balaklava. I have to apologize to you for not having acknowledged your letter of the 15th earlier, but, as it refers to orders and regulations which were quite unknown to me before, I have really no observations to make in reply, further than to express a hope that the bigotry you allude to will not sway the people of England in matters of pure charity and good works ; for I hope, and I hope the generality of mankind will agree with me, that these are not confined to any particular sect or creed."

Another letter from Dr. Hall to Miss Nightingale runs as follows :

" In reply to your note of yesterday's date, informing me of the departure of Davis for England, of Sheridan for Scutari, and Bracebridge to camp to join her husband, and requesting me to recommend one or two women to accompany Miss Wear to the Monastery, I beg to observe I know of no one at present whom I could recommend for the duty, but, should we hereafter succeed in obtaining any women of good character, their names can easily be included in the pay list of the hospital servants, without giving you the trouble of opening an account with the Monastery Hospital."

On the 30th of October Miss Wear wrote the following letter to Dr. Hall :

"Forgive my troubling you with these few words, but I have a request to make which I trust you will kindly allow to be named in your letter to the Lady at Smyrna—namely, that the two women to be sent up for the service of the Monastery Hospital may both be Protestants. I well know the unpleasantness of a difference in religion in a very small community."

To which Dr. Hall replied:

"Your request is a most reasonable one, but on second thoughts, as the hospital of Smyrna is a civil one and not under my control, I think it better not to interfere with their nurses, as I have no doubt the Superintendent there is fenced round with numerous orders and regulations similar to those of Her Majesty's Superintendent of nurses at Scutari."

A communication dated the 5th of November, 1855, was addressed to Miss Nightingale from the War Office:

"The Secretary of State having caused to be transmitted to this Office copies of your recent correspondence with Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe respecting your control over the nurses attached to the hospitals at the seat of war, I am directed by Lord Panmure to state to you that his Lordship entirely approves of the letter addressed to you by Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, as explaining clearly the views and intentions of this Department, with regard to your control over the nurses in the East. Lord Panmure considers that Mrs. Bridgman was not justified in removing, except by your consent, any of the nurses engaged under your control in the hospitals at Scutari, nor in offering the services of herself and the Roman Catholic Sisters at Kulali to the Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea without having previously obtained the consent and sanction of the Secretary at War."

Dr. Hall continued to be involved in questions arising at intervals regarding the nurses and their distribution

and work, as appears from a considerable correspondence between him and Miss Nightingale, and also from frequent letters from her to Miss Wear. The latter had not been able to go to the Monastery so quickly as she had hoped, since the hut there was not ready for her accommodation. Miss Nightingale therefore suggested that in the meantime Miss Wear should come to her at the Castle Hospital, until her own quarters were fit for occupation. To this Dr. Hall replied on the 7th of November, 1855 :

" The arrangement you propose to Miss Wear appears to me to be a good one, provided it be agreeable to herself, but I think it would be right to consult her own feelings and convenience in the matter.

" The alterations at the Monastery go on slowly, but, as the greater part of the sick will be removed to-morrow, Miss Wear's administration will not be so much required as it might have been under other circumstances, so that she need not be hurried or put to inconvenience in going there. I am sorry to hear you are an invalid at present, and I fear you must have taken cold in some way. This, however, is a very favourable climate for rheumatic complaints ; comparatively few cases appear in our returns of sick, and, speaking from personal experience, those who are subject to the complaint in other places do not suffer from it here."

Miss Wear on the 8th of November wrote to Dr. Hall concerning Miss Nightingale's letter of the 6th idem :

" I beg to apologize for troubling you, but may I ask you to read the enclosed ? I scarcely know in what light to take the proffered politeness, and merely answered that I was not well enough at present to make any exertion. I have not mentioned the circumstance to either the Purveyor or the Reverend Mother here. Should you come to this hospital to-day or to-morrow, may I ask to speak to you for a few minutes ?

"I trust the persons sent to accompany me to the Monastery will not delay to arrive, as I am most anxious to get to my journey's end while the fine weather lasts, and should not mind the arrangements not being quite completed had I but the women to go with me."

On the 9th of November, Miss Wear writes again:

"With your entire approbation I will remain here until I go to the Monastery. I do not wish to accept Miss Nightingale's invitation for *many* reasons. I do not feel I am in anyone's way here; the Reverend Mother and myself are on the best possible terms; but at the same time I shall be happy to retire as soon as may be.

"It has occurred to me that Mr. Cumberbatch, the Consul at Constantinople, to whom I had a letter of introduction from my friend Sir Thomas Waller at Benfield, might know a couple of *respectable* women who would be happy to be your servants under my direction at the Monastery, if the application made by the Purveyor to Smyrna should fail. It was with a view to mentioning this subject to you that I expressed a wish to speak to you to-day, if you came into Balaklava, as to-morrow is post day."

On the 8th of November, 1855, Miss Jane Shaw Stewart, Superintendent of Nurses in the Castle Hospital, Balaklava, wrote as follows to Dr. Hadley, Principal Medical Officer at Balaklava:

"The extra diet kitchen of this hospital opened on the 4th, and by Dr. Matthew's desire, I have undertaken the charge of it for a month as an experiment. I learnt last night that Dr. Hall and yourself had inspected it yesterday, and had reprimanded the cook's orderly (the cook is a Frenchman, and neither speaks nor understands English) in consequence of a complaint made by the wounded Officers. I take the liberty of observing to you that no duty can be properly discharged if the person in charge does not receive direct the orders and reprimands

of the inspecting authorities; and of requesting that I may receive direct those regarding the extra diet kitchen as long as I have charge of it. If either Dr. Hall or yourself apprize me you wish me to give up the charge, I shall at once do so. I request you to show this note to Dr. Hall."

This letter forwarded to Dr. Hall elicited the following reply from him to Dr. Hadley:

"I am favoured with your letter of the 9th inst. forwarding a note from Miss Stewart, and I beg you will have the goodness to explain to her that it is your duty and mine to see that sick and wounded Officers have proper attention paid to their wants, as well as the private soldiers, and I am quite satisfied the observations addressed to the cook's assistant by you, when we visited the kitchen of the Castle Hospital, Balaklava, the other day, might have been addressed to Miss Stewart herself without giving her the least offence, whatever may have been reported on the subject."

Dr. Hadley, having sent Dr. Hall's letter to Miss Stewart, received from her the following answer, dated the 14th of November, 1855:

"I return Dr. Hall's note, as yours of this day which enclosed it desired. It is because I know that the extra diet kitchen, myself and every person and thing in the hospital, are under the orders of the Inspector-General and the Principal Medical Officer that I know it would be useless to take charge of that kitchen if their orders and their reprimands are to reach me through the cook's orderly, from whom, for obvious reasons, it is difficult to make out what they were.

"I request you to show this note to Dr. Hall. If you happen not yet to have burnt my previous one, you will find that the above, and not what Dr. Hall supposes, was its meaning."

On the 6th of November, 1855, Dr. Beatson, Staff-Surgeon First Class, reported to Dr. Hall on the conduct

of the Sisters of Charity at Kulali, where they had acted as nurses under his orders for some months :

" BALAKLAVA.

" You have expressed a wish that I would state my opinion of the conduct—as nurses—of Mrs. Bridgman and the Roman Catholic ladies under her superintendence, who are at present attached to the General Hospital at Balaklava.

" During the period—from the end of March till the beginning of last month—that I was stationed at Kulali, these ladies were also there, their principal sphere being the Upper Hospital, a portion of establishment which formed part of the south Division, which Division was under my superior tendence.

" I had, therefore, ample and daily opportunities of observing them in the performance of their duties, and I can bear testimony that on every occasion their attention to the sick was unremitting, while they seemed always studious to carry out, and not to deviate from, the instructions of the Medical Officers in charge of the patients.

" I have heard a loose assertion that their object and aim was to proselytize, but while their attention to Protestants and men of their own persuasion seemed equal, I know of no instance in which the above assertion was even attempted to be established.

" I am myself a Protestant, a Scotch Presbyterian, and cannot therefore be supposed to bear this testimony from any religious sympathy or bias ; I do so merely from a sense of justice to these estimable women, believing that Christian charity and benevolence are the motives that influence them, for I should be sorry to think that good deeds and worthy motives are confined to any particular sect.

" My friend, the Rev. Mr. Coney, is now at the Monastery, and I have no doubt can speak with more confidence than I am able to do, as to whether he had any reason to

believe that these ladies ever used their influence to make converts to their form of faith."

By the 27th of November, 1855, Miss Wear appears to have been about to depart for her new sphere of action, and a letter from Miss Nightingale pointed out to her the responsibilities and difficulties of a Superintendent's position, which would require even greater effort on her part than the devoted care which she had extended to the patients under her charge.

On the 30th of November Dr. Hall communicated with Miss Nightingale:

"I am favoured with your note of the 27th giving cover to a letter from the War Department of the 5th, concerning Mrs. Bridgman and the Sisters of Charity.

"I am glad to find the outbreak of cholera subsiding, and I trust it will soon leave Scutari altogether, but its ravages, I regret to observe, have already been very considerable, and the loss in Officers, particularly Medical, very severe.

"Here, thank God! we have little of it at present. A few cases occur occasionally, and will continue to do so in all probability for a little time longer, as it did not leave us last year until the middle of December, when it entirely disappeared, and did not return until May.

"The winter is fairly on us now; we have had frost, snow, and rain, and a fair proportion of mud. I trust your return to Scutari has been beneficial to the rheumatic affection, which I was sorry to hear you were labouring under at the Castle, and that your health has not suffered in any other way by the change."

Two more letters from Miss Wear to Dr. Hall were written on the 2nd and the 6th of December respectively:

"I received the enclosed last night. Whatever Miss Nightingale says I may have done or left undone avails little; I only wish for your permission to go to the

Monastery as soon as possible. One woman is only sent to me for a time, her husband being here; the other, a servant just arrived from England, may be changed whenever you desire. The answer from Smyrna was *exactly* what you anticipated, thereby leaving me no resource but the above plan, which Miss Nightingale assured me she had spoken to you about, and which, therefore, I trust you do not quite disapprove.

"I beg now, Sir, to allude to a, to me, very painful subject—the recent most disagreeable events in which I was made to take a most unwilling part, never anticipating that my unguarded relation of simple facts could have led to such results! Annoyed and deeply annoyed as I have been, my *real* cause of regret is the appearing to have acted ungratefully, unpardonably towards you, Sir. I may perhaps have an opportunity ere long of explaining all these disagreeable circumstances more fully than I will now take the liberty of intruding on your time and patience to do; in the meantime, pray don't refuse to believe my deepest and sincerest apologies—not merely founded on the consciousness of a breach of politeness, but on *real regret*."

"*December 6th*, 1855.

"I trust you received my note of the 2nd ult. enclosing Miss Nightingale's, which reached me the evening previous. The person who has arrived to accompany me, with your permission, to the Monastery, appears a most desirable acquisition, and as I heard from Mr. Toller that the hut was quite habitable, and had not suffered from the late rains, I am most anxious to go there as soon as you give me leave."

The following note was written from Royal Artillery Camp, Balaklava Heights:

"*December 9th*, 1855.

"Lieutenant-Colonel St. John Browne, R.A., begs to inform Dr. Hall that he has been requested by Miss Wear to inform him that the report made of alleged ill-treatment

of Sergeant Campbell, Royal Artillery, was not made to the Commander of the Forces by her. The man was seen in the Guard Tent by an Officer of the Royal Artillery, who reported his state to Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, and the case was by him reported through Sir R. Dacres to the Commander of the Forces.

" Miss Wear appeared to be much distressed, as she said that she had received so much kindness from Dr. Hall."

The difficult question of alleged proselytism in hospitals came once again before Dr. Hall, as follows. On the 10th of December, 1855, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Coney :

" An impression has gone abroad, which is at variance with what I have seen of them myself, that the Sisters of Charity now employed as nurses in the General Hospital at Balaklava are bent on proselytism, and that in their ministrations as nurses they pay more attention to patients of their own creed than to those of any other faith. I understood you to say that you had served with them for some months at Kulali. May I ask if you ever observed anything in their conduct, or did anything ever come to your knowledge that would in any way justify these assertions ?

" Dr. Beatson speaks of them in the highest terms as nurses."

Mr. Coney's reply to this query was given on the 17th of December, 1855 :

" St. George's Monastery.

" I beg to state in reply to your letter of the 6th inst. that, during the five months of my officiating as Chaplain in the hospitals at Kulali, my duties brought me in daily contact with the larger number of these Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy who are now attached to the General Hospital, Balaklava, and that during that period nothing ever came under my observation to induce me to attach the least credit to rumours which were then afloat of their bent in proselytism. If any effort had been made by

them with that object in view, it could hardly have escaped my notice.

"With regard to the care and attention paid by them to the sick in hospital, I have never seen the slightest approach to any line of demarcation being drawn by them between the Roman Catholics and our own communion, or that of the Presbyterians. On the contrary, it has always struck me, from the kindness I saw displayed by them towards all alike, how much they seemed to strive to bury any differences of faith which might exist amongst those to whom they were called upon to minister in the universal love they showed to all."

To show the minute accuracy which Miss Nightingale expected from her Hospital Superintendents, and which she herself observed in her reports to the War Office, it may be mentioned that she urged upon Miss Wear the keeping of an exact account of every detail of her hospital business, even including the distribution of every old shirt and pocket-handkerchief to those in and leaving the hospital. The hospital at Kulali was broken up about this time (December, 1855) and the ladies in charge were sent home owing to their having refused to submit to a regulation of the Deputy-Inspector-General that all articles of diet given to patients should be entered on the diet rolls next morning. The Smyrna establishment was also practically dissolved, as the ladies there had refused to render strict obedience to rules.

The following note, addressed to Miss Wear, was brought to Miss Nightingale by two nurses despatched from Smyrna:

"SMYRNA HOSPITAL,
"*December 1st*, 1855.

"MADAM,

"A request having been made on your account for two nurses from Smyrna, and Mrs. Barker and Mrs. Edwards having volunteered on the breaking-up of this hospital to proceed there, I beg to recommend them strongly to your kind consideration, as being of a very

superior grade to the common hospital nurse, and both of them perfectly sober, honest, and respectable, and, indeed, quite trustworthy in every respect.

"I am, madam,

"Your obedient servant,

"HENRIETTA ANNE LE MESURIER.

"*Lady Superintendent.*"

Miss Nightingale had just sent Miss Wear as servant a Welshwoman named Jane Evans, and was therefore surprised to hear of two more nurses arriving for her without previous intimation. Miss Wear writes on the subject to Dr. Hall as follows:

"MONASTERY,

"*December 21st.*

"I beg to enclose letters, all received last night from Miss Nightingale. She had better not send any more of her people here, unless *you* wish it, as there is not any necessity for them, and I almost regret having anyone beyond Mrs. Brownlow, of whom I have every reason to approve, and whose husband is the bearer of this, and will, if you will allow him, tell you his wife has nothing to do with Scutari. The necessity of my having more than one woman with me is done away with, since I have Mrs. Hughes and her maid so near us. Dr. Jameson wishes me to direct the extra diet kitchen, in which, as I have much taste for cooking, I shall take great interest, and can certainly for the present have quite assistance enough from the orderlies.

"I am very happy and comfortable here, and I am only anxious to retain your approbation and have as little correspondence with Scutari as may be.

"I am much surprised at the letter from Smyrna after the *negative* one received by Mr. FitzGerald."

Dr. Hall to Miss Wear.

"*December 23rd*, 1855.

"I return the notes from Miss Nightingale which you sent to me last night, and which I could not answer at

the time, as I had walked to Balaklava and back in the afternoon, and had all my packet letters to write for the mail this morning.

"I am glad to hear you are comfortable, and like your situation at the Monastery. The class of patient there will not give you much trouble, and there is no necessity for a large establishment. Was Miss Nightingale aware that Mrs. Brownlow had come to you, and, if so, why did she send Evans if you do not require her? The Smyrna nurses have been sent in consequence of Mr. FitzGerald's application when you were left without anyone, and when Miss Nightingale said she could not supply you with nurses. Surely she could not have expected you to go to the Monastery alone? You should write and tell her that I think and say that it was out of consideration for your situation that the application to Smyrna was made. Why was Jane Evans sent off in such a hurry? And why were not the Smyrna nurses forwarded on?

"With regard to the eau-de-Cologne, I suppose I am meant as Lord Raglan's informant. I certainly told him that amongst other unusual things for military hospitals eau-de-Cologne had been asked for; but I assure you on my honour I never mentioned your name, nor that of anyone else. If he learnt it was you, he must have ascertained it through some other channel, for I don't think I knew at the time *who* had made it. I disallowed the purchase when Mr. FitzGerald submitted the requisition for approval."

Private and official letters regarding medical affairs are mixed up in Sir John Hall's correspondence without any connecting thread, so that they can best be reproduced in chronological order:

Dr. J. Scott Robertson to Sir John Hall.

"SCUTARI,
"*February 8th*, 1856.

"I thank you much for your last kind note, and am glad you find the nuns useful and good. Your letter to

Lefroy about them was admirable. I had, too, a battle with him and General Storks regarding certain statements made about them, but I fancy the feeling in that quarter is adverse and fixed. I hear you have not (any more than myself) subscribed your day's pay to the Nightingale Fund. I certainly said, the moment it appeared in Orders, I would not do so, and thereby countenance what I disapproved. Others may do as they please, but, though Linton, Cruikshanks, and Lowson have all subscribed, I believe the subscriptions *in the hospital* are not many or large.

"You will be glad to hear that Fitz is Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief. He very richly deserved it for his untiring and unceasing labours, and it will give him now a position in the Crimea to direct, which before only caused jealousy and ill-feeling in the minds of those much of his own standing.

"I hope you have got Powell at last. I really was annoyed at the delay in his getting a ship, and after he got his passage he had to wait a week till the vessel sailed.

"I have four more Purveyors to recommend, and will trouble you this week to approve and forward the list to the War Department.

"Linton is well, and looking out for the long-expected Gazette. I had a kind letter from Cumming. He is far from well, and glad to be away from this, previous to all the changes that have been made.

"You have little sickness in the Crimea, and there is not much here. I suppose you will gradually clear out all the hospitals?

"Are we to have peace? If so, what a shipping of stores there will be! But I do not suppose it will come to anything.

"I hope you are enjoying your usual health.

"Mr. Wright spent a day with me on his way home. He was really looking well.

"I met Dr. Roberts (Fourth Division) the other day,

but am told he does not like my apparition since that unfortunate Stowe Memo. of mine, which I could wish at Jericho rather than that umbrage should have been given."

Lord Panmure to General Sir William J. Codrington, K.C.B.

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"*February 25th*, 1856.

"My attention has been called by Miss Nightingale to the circumstance of two female nurses having been recently introduced by the Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea into the Monastery Hospital without any previous communication with that lady, who alone is recognized by Her Majesty's Government as having the supervision of the Female Nursing Establishment at the seat of war, and I have to direct that you will call the attention of Sir John Hall to the irregularity of this proceeding, and at the same time will guard against its recurrence by promulgating in General Orders the rightful position of Miss Nightingale in reference to the distribution, situation, and power of discharge or dismissal of all nurses and sisters employed in the military hospitals of the Army, and which, if I may venture to suggest the wording of a General Order, may be expressed to the following effect:

"'It has been intimated to the Secretary of State for War that female nurses have been introduced into one of the hospitals of the Army in the East by the Medical authorities without the concurrence of the Lady Superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment. His Lordship has addressed the following despatch to the Commander of the Forces, with a desire that it should be promulgated in General Orders:

"'"It appears to me that the Medical authorities of the Army do not correctly comprehend Miss Nightingale's position as it has been officially recognized by me. I therefore think it right to state to you briefly for their

guidance, as well as for the information of the Army, what the position of that excellent lady is. Miss Nightingale is recognized by Her Majesty's Government as the General Superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment of the military hospitals of the Army.

"'" No lady, or sister, or nurse is to be transferred from one hospital to another, or introduced into any hospital, without consultation with her. Her instructions, however, require to have the approval of the Principal Medical Officer in the exercise of the responsibility thus vested in her.

"'" The Principal Medical Officer will communicate with Miss Nightingale upon all subjects connected with the Female Nursing Establishment, and will give his directions through that lady."'"

Sir John Hall to Miss Nightingale.

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*March 10th*, 1856.

"By the enclosed letter from Dr. Taylor, the Medical Officer in charge of the Land Transport Corps, you will observe that he is anxious to have twelve nurses to assist in the two hospitals, and two of them to be cooks for preparing extras. I was unwilling the nurses should be sent without proper accommodation being previously provided for them, but, now that they have promised to erect a Gloucester hut at each hospital for their use, I hope they may venture without the risk or the inconvenience they would otherwise have experienced—an inconvenience, indeed, which I could not have sanctioned their being exposed to, for without proper arrangement a camp is no place for nurses, and even at its best it will, I fear, be far from comfortable. The class of nurses to be sent I leave entirely to your own discretion, as you are the best judge on that point. The Sisters of Charity are cer-

tainly very efficient, and as yet I have had no reason to alter the favourable opinion I formed of them at first. But with regard to the Land Transport Corps, there is one thing it is right I should mention. If you send nuns, the hospitals are isolated, and a difficulty might arise about a place of worship for them to attend. I mention this for your consideration.

" There is a slight amendment in the health of the Land Transport this week, and the mortality has fallen one-third, but it is still one-third more than that of the whole Army.

" Two weeks ago we had not one single death in the whole regular Army, which is a happy contrast to the same time last year, when the men were overworked and wanted many essential comforts.

" Accept my best thanks for your kind congratulations on my promotion."

[*Enclosure.*]

" HEADQUARTERS,
" LAND TRANSPORT CORPS,
" *March 9th*, 1856.

" SIR,

" As there is a large amount of sickness in the Corps, and of a nature requiring nourishment carefully prepared and administered with discretion, as well as great attention to personal cleanliness and comfort of the sick, and as these ends are not attained by the class of hospital orderlies sent from the Corps, I have the honour to request you will be pleased to recommend six nurses to be supplied for the General Detachment Hospital, and six for the General Reserve Hospital. I may here say that, could a cook competent to prepare extras be also supplied for each of these hospitals, it would be another important step in the same direction.

" I have, etc.,
" S. G. TAYLOR.
" *Staff-Surgeon.*

" SIR J. HALL, K.C.B.,
" Inspector-General of Hospitals."

From Sir John Hall to General Sir W. J. Codrington, K.C.B.

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*March 12th*, 1856.

"In returning Lord Panmure's despatch of the 25th of February, 1856, No. 170, in which his Lordship states that his 'attention has been called by Miss Nightingale to the circumstance of two female nurses having been recently introduced by the Principal Medical Officer in the Crimea into the Monastery Hospital without any previous communication with that lady, who alone is recognized by Her Majesty's Government as having the supervision of the Female Nursing Establishment at the seat of war, and I have to direct that you will call the attention of Sir John Hall to the irregularity of this proceeding, and at the same time will guard against its recurrence by promulgating in General Orders the rightful position of Miss Nightingale,' I trust I may be permitted to state, for the information of the Secretary of State for War, that I never appointed any nurses to the Monastery Hospital, although I was invited to do so by Miss Nightingale's own letter of the 27th of October, 1855, a copy of which, with my reply, is annexed; and, what is more to the purpose, every nurse that either now is, or ever has been, employed there was sent up from Scutari by Miss Nightingale herself, as you will observe by the following documents which were given to me by Miss Wear, the Superintendent:

"1. A note from Miss Nightingale to Mrs. Brownlow, offering her service at the Monastery.

"2. Memorandum of Jane Evans's agreement to take service as a nurse, dated the 13th of December, 1855.

"3. Note from Miss Nightingale to the Captain of the *Andes* steamer, dated the 25th of December, 1855, recommending Jane Evans to his care, when proceeding to join Miss Wear at the Monastery Hospital.

"4. Appointment of Sarah Nisbett as a servant, dated the 27th of October, 1855.

"The position of Miss Nightingale will now be perfectly understood by the Medical Officers of the Army, but it is right I should add that, until the present time, I have never received from the authorities at home any official instructions defining her exact powers and authority, as it was generally understood that her mission related solely to the hospitals at Scutari; and, until the receipt of the present notification from the Secretary of State for War, I should not have thought I was exceeding the authority of my situation, as head of the Medical Department of this Army, in appointing, on an emergency, two nurses to a military hospital; but even that trifling act of authority, I beg distinctly to state, I have not exercised on the present occasion, and the only thing I can charge my memory with having done that could give even a colour to this accusation is having, when Miss Wear was in tribulation about someone to accompany her to the Monastery, sanctioned the Purveyor's writing down to Smyrna to inquire if two nurses could be obtained there. An answer from Mr. FitzGerald in the negative was received. Subsequently I understood, when the Smyrna establishment was ordered to be reduced, that two nurses were sent up from there to Miss Nightingale at Scutari, but I am not answerable for that.

"Having been censured by the Secretary of State for War on information that is not correct, I request you will do me the honour to submit this my explanation, which I trust will be satisfactory to his Lordship."

Miss Wear to Dr. Hall.

"MONASTERY,
"*March 13th*, 1856.

"I take the liberty of enclosing four letters which have reference to the point in question, about which I should now hope there can be no further mistake.

" I have never had in this hospital other than the three women named by Miss Nightingale. The continuance here of that most desirable person, Mrs. Brownlow, beyond the month named will be explained to you by a letter which I have desired Sergeant Brownlow to take to you, and in Miss Nightingale's latter letters you will perceive she evinces no displeasure at this most respectable young woman not returning to Scutari.

" In Balaklava Hospital I never had other than Government nurses, the washerwoman, the late Lord Raglan's orderly's wife, being duly recognized by Miss Nightingale. Last autumn, when Miss Nightingale complained that she had not anyone ready to be sent up from Scutari, I wrote to make inquiries about a person named Brazebridge, or Bracebridge, who had been highly recommended to me by excellent old Davis, and had this woman arrived in Balaklava, and not been wanted in any of your hospitals, I had an excellent private service in view for her. Miss Nightingale afterwards told me I should have found Mrs. B. too old to be sufficiently active.

" About the same time the Purveyor, Mr. FitzGerald, was kind enough to write to some friends at Smyrna to inquire whether there were any desirable women in the hospital who could be spared for service in the Crimea, and he received a *negative* answer. That the nurses afterwards made their appearance at Scutari was a circumstance to which I was an utter stranger. This I fully explained by letter to Miss Nightingale, therefore I must conclude in avowing I am at a loss to account for the communication which has been made to you, Sir, and with much gratitude for the kindness I have ever received at your hands,

" I have, etc."

Sir John Hall to Miss Nightingale.

" *March 26th*, 1856.

" I am favoured with your letter of yesterday's date informing me of the arrival of the first instalment of

nurses for the Land Transport Hospital, and requesting to know whether I wish the requisitions on the Purveyor to be countersigned by the Principal Medical Officer. All requisitions for the personal use of the nurses the Purveyor has orders to comply with at once on your, or any Superintendent's, demand. But it is the usage in military hospitals for all demands for the sick to be made by the Medical Officer in charge, with the approval of his immediate superior, and I should wish this rule to be pursued in the Land Transport as it is in all other hospitals. It insures uniformity and exactness in the hospital expenditure accounts, while the wants of the sick are duly cared for, both of which are very desirable in military hospital economy. With regard to the nurses at the General Hospital at Balaklava, the supervision of whom you state has been reimposed on you by the War Department, I take leave to observe that all doubt has now been removed by the General Order as to your relative positions, and it is a question, not for me, but for Mrs. Bridgman herself to decide, but in justice to her and the Sisters under her orders I must state that they have given me the most perfect satisfaction by the quiet and efficient manner in which they have performed their duty since they have been employed there, and I should regret their departure."

Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief David FitzGerald to Sir John Hall.

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"BALAKLAVA,
"*March 27th*, 1856.

"Immediately on receipt of your letter I called on Mrs. Bridgman and explained the purport. She fully appreciated the kind mention of her and the Sisters in your answer to Miss N——, but the communication to me—and from me to her—is private. She desires a more formal expression of your pleasure, which she can produce to explain the causes of her resignation, and to affirm the impression of her labours before her ecclesiastical

Superiors. She wishes, too, that her remaining moves should be strictly limited to you, and distinctly exclusive of all interference or authoritative action in regard to her on the part of Miss Nightingale, as it is solely to avoid the recognition of such control that she has resolved upon the painful alternative of resignation. Her views might be met by your forwarding her a copy of Miss N——'s letter, and apprising her of the necessity of acknowledging the supervision enjoined by General ——. Mrs. B—— will then resign, and ask the favour of your providing a passage home for her and Sisters, without the meddling of Miss N——.

"I send this by a special messenger in order that Mrs. B—— may be provided with an answer before Miss N—— can humble or mortify her with the only alternative."

Sir John Hall to Mrs. Bridgman.

"I beg to enclose a copy of a communication I have received from Miss Nightingale on the subject of the authority which the annexed General Order has given her over all nurses and sisters with the Army in the East. You will observe that she makes an appeal to me, well knowing I have no power to alter that which has been issued by the authority of the Minister for War. It must therefore rest with you to decide whether you wish to remain subservient to the control of Miss Nightingale or not. The perfect satisfaction you have given me since you assumed charge of the nursing establishment at the General Hospital would not induce me to wish any change, but unfortunately no discretionary power is left me in the matter."

Mrs. Bridgman to Sir John Hall.

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"BALAKLAVA,
"*March 28th, 6 p.m.*

"Miss Nightingale called to-day to know my decision. I mentioned to her that I had already written my resig-

nation to you. She used many arguments *in vain*, to convince me I ought again to connect myself and Sisters with her.

"When unsuccessful in all, she *urged* that I should reconsider it until next Monday week; in the meantime matters are to stay as they are. Though I believe it is not at all likely I shall change in a week the *fixed resolve of months*, I thought it better to consent to this and suspend any movement until the time named, as no violation of principle is involved.

"I shall write again to you on the appointed day, and it is more than probable renew my request *to you* for a passage.

"Thank you most sincerely for the very kind manner in which you express your approval, etc.

"I wrote you my resignation to-day. I hope it has reached you."

Mrs. Bridgman to Sir John Hall.

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"BALAKLAVA,
"*March 28th*, 1856.

"As I find it is no longer in your power to continue us here on the terms on which you accepted our services in the Crimea, I beg to resign my charge to you from whom I received it.

"May I also offer our best thanks for the uniform kindness which we have received from you and those who represent you?

"For it, as well as the cordial co-operation and appreciation of our services which I feel it my pleasing duty to acknowledge to you, we shall ever be grateful.

"During the sixteen months of our mission in the East, our difficulties and trials have been *many*, often painful and perplexing, but it is due to the Medical Officers, as well as those of the Purveying Department, to say that these did not arise from them. We have

found these Officers ever willing to work with us, and kindly and cordially to accept our services.

"Then the delicate and courteous respect and gratitude ever evinced by the patients of different creeds and countries have also been to us a source of constant thankfulness.

"May I beg you will kindly take the necessary means to arrange for our passages home as soon as convenient.

"I trust arrangements may be made for a priest to accompany us home if possible."

Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief David FitzGerald to Sir John Hall.

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"BALAKLAVA,
"*March 31st*, 1856.

[*Private.*]

"I called this morning on Captain Burnett, explained matters, and your wish. He says a large steamer will be ordered—the name has not yet transpired—but Captain Burnett will inform me at the earliest opportunity. So far he promises every attention to the arrangements requested, and we may feel assured of his satisfactory co-operation on Saturday."

In response to a letter from Miss Nightingale concerning the demands for the sick, which Sir John Hall wished to be made "by the Medical Officer in charge, with the approval of his immediate superior," and which Miss Nightingale thought she personally was entitled to make without such approval, Sir John Hall wrote:

"CRIMEA,
"*April 2nd*, 1856.

"In reply to your letter of the 31st this day received, this is to repeat that anything that you require for your own personal use, or for the personal use of the nurses under your superintendence I have given instructions to

the Purveyor to comply with ; but all supplies for the sick in hospital, and their distribution, I think, ought to be under the direction of the Medical Officer in charge, who is held accountable for them by the regulations of the Service. I am not aware that any power or privilege that you are invested with is at all infringed by this rule —certainly none that has ever been communicated to me, and until the Queen's Regulations for the management of Army hospitals are altered, I must, without wishing or intending any discourtesy to you, request that it may be observed.

" You must, however, allow me to observe, my dear Madam, that the custom in the hospital at Scutari is no guide to me, nor can I permit it to supersede the Queen's Regulations.

" By the observance of this Regulation the comforts and welfare of the sick are in no way whatever interfered with, as it is the duty of the Medical Officer in charge to see that a needful supply of medical comforts is at all times at hand, but any suggestion of yours will, I am quite sure, meet with that attention which it merits.

" My opinion of the duty of a nurse in a military or any other hospital is that she should implicitly obey the instructions of the medical attendant in the charge of any case or cases placed under her immediate care, prepare and administer the nourishment ordered, and attend the personal wants of the patients, giving them medicine or nourishment at stated periods if required so to do, but initiating nothing of her own accord. Under this impression I see no occasion for two sets of demands on the Purveyor's stores for the same patients in the same hospital, as it is fair to assume that the Medical Officer in charge is the best judge of what is necessary for the treatment of the sick under his care. Besides, it would be unfair to tax you with the administrative duties of the hospital and Medical Department in addition to those of Superintendent of nurses."

General Sir William Codrington to Sir John Hall.

"*April 4th*, 1856.

"I regret much to hear that circumstances have induced Mrs. Bridgman, the Mother Superioress of the Roman Catholic nurses, to quit the General Hospital, and proceed to England with the nurses who have been so long associated with her.

"I request you will assure that lady of the high estimation in which her services and those of the nurses are held by us all; founded as that opinion is upon the experience of yourself, the Medical Officers of the hospital, and of the many patients who, during fourteen or fifteen months past, have benefited by their care.

"I am quite sure that their unfailing kindness will have the reward which Mrs. Bridgman values—viz., the remembrance and gratitude of those who have been the objects of such disinterested attention."

Sir John Hall to Mrs. Bridgman.

"*April 5th*, 1856.

"I cannot permit you and the sisters under your direction to leave the Crimea without an expression of the high opinion I entertain of your ministration, and of the very important aid you have rendered to the sick under your care. I can most conscientiously assert, as I have on other occasions stated, that you have given me the most perfect satisfaction ever since you assumed charge of the Nursing Department in the General Hospital at Balaklava, and I do most unfeignedly regret your departure; but after what has occurred I would not, even with that feeling uppermost in my mind, urge you to stay.

"I enclose a letter from Sir William Codrington, Commander-in-Chief, expressive of the sense he entertains of your services, and of those of the sisters under you, which I trust will be acceptable to your feelings, and I feel assured you must leave us with an approving conscience,

as I know you do with the blessing of all those whom you have aided in their hour of need.

"To Him who sees all our outward actions and knows our inmost thoughts and wishes I commend you, and may He have you, and those under you, in His holy keeping."

Mrs. Bridgman to Sir John Hall.

"GENERAL HOSPITAL,
"BALAKLAVA,
"*April 10th*, 1856.

"How truly grateful do I feel for your most kind letter of the 5th inst., as well as for the innumerable kindnesses we have received from you!

"Believe me, we feel most sensibly grateful for all.

"Will you, dear Sir, allow me, through you, to express our best thanks to Sir William Codrington for the approval so kindly and graciously expressed by him also, and to assure him how fully we appreciate, and how gratefully we have received it."

Sir John Hall to Miss Nightingale.

"*April 12th*, 1856.

"I have the honour to enclose a communication from Mrs. Bridgman, notifying her departure from the Crimea, together with the ten Sisters of Charity under her superintendence."

On the 11th of April, 1856, Miss Nightingale learned of the departure of Mrs. Bridgman and her Sisters of Mercy for England, and that same afternoon she supplied their places with other Sisters of Mercy and nurses, writing to inform Sir John Hall of what she had done. In reply there came the following letter from Sir John Hall:

"*April 15th*, 1856.

"As the Army is on the eve of breaking-up and vacating the Crimea, I regret I was not previously made acquainted

with your intention of withdrawing nurses from Scutari, where they will soon be more required than here. This unnecessary move may, I fear, have put them to inconvenience and the public to expense without any adequate advantage from the arrangement."

In answer to a long letter from Miss Nightingale, Sir John Hall replied:

"*April 27th*, 1856.

"In reply to your letter of the 19th inst., in which you complain of the nurses at the General Hospital, Balaklava, not having received certain articles of their full diet ration, I beg to inform you that I caused the matter to be inquired into at once, and I now take leave to forward you copies of letters of explanation from Mr. FitzGerald and Mr. Powell, by which you will observe that the fault is attributed to your own servant, who declined to receive the articles you allude to oftener than once a week; but, if you will be kind enough to give him instructions to receive them, they will be issued to him daily, or in any other way that you may find most convenient and agreeable to yourself and to the nurses. You will also observe by Mr. FitzGerald's letter that articles of diet for the sick, and allowances for the personal use of the nurses never can be confounded if the instructions on that head are duly observed.

"I may further remark, regarding nurses for the General Hospital at Balaklava, that I was led into error by the following observation in your letter of the 13th: 'I immediately supplied their places (meaning the nuns under Mrs. Bridgman) the same afternoon with Sisters of Mercy and nurses, whose number will be increased to-morrow by a further arrival of Sisters of Mercy from Scutari whom I have sent for.' Now, the natural inference to be drawn from this remark is that the nurses you had sent for were separate and distinct from those you had brought up for the Land Transport Hospitals. Besides which, Lord Panmure in the General Order

which he directed to be issued regarding your position never could have intended that you should consult and act on the authority of any Officer serving under my immediate orders without any reference to me; but you must now see how impolitic it was to move nurses from Scutari beyond the number requested by Dr. Taylor for the Land Transport, which I sanctioned because so much had been said and written on the subject by other parties.

"The number of patients in the General Hospital at Balaklava is now about one-half of what it was in January, and you will see by Mr. FitzGerald's letter that you have considerably overrated the number accommodated there in January, 1855.

"I am glad you brought the subject of the diets under my notice, for I can assure you I have no wish but to consult your convenience, and the comfort of the nurses under your orders, and it will be my duty to see that everyone else does the same."

Miss Nightingale's reason for going so fully into the subject of the nurses' diet was to check the reports that had been rife in England as to the extravagance of the nurses in the Crimea, though such unpleasant rumours had been contradicted by the War Office. It was also a regrettable circumstance that some nurses who had been invalided home were recorded as having been dismissed for bad behaviour. Sir John Hall's opinion on the subject may be gathered from the following:

"*May 22nd*, 1856.

"I am favoured with your letter of yesterday's date informing me of the departure on the 15th inst. of Nurses Mary Holmes and Rebecca Wingfield, on account of ill-health, which I am sorry to hear, and to prevent any misconception on the part of the Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief regarding persons so estimable and deserving as you describe these two nurses to be, I will take an

early opportunity of communicating to him the cause of their leaving the Crimea:

"I thank you for the detail in your letter, which is the first distribution of nurses in the Crimea I have ever seen, and I now comprehend it completely. I must not, however, recommend you to withdraw nurses from Scutari for service in the Crimea, as I am sending off the sick as opportunities offer, either to the Bosphorus or England, and breaking up and closing the hospital establishments here as fast as the service will admit of it. The General Hospital in camp is closed, and I have commenced with the Monastery, which will be broken up also in a short time."

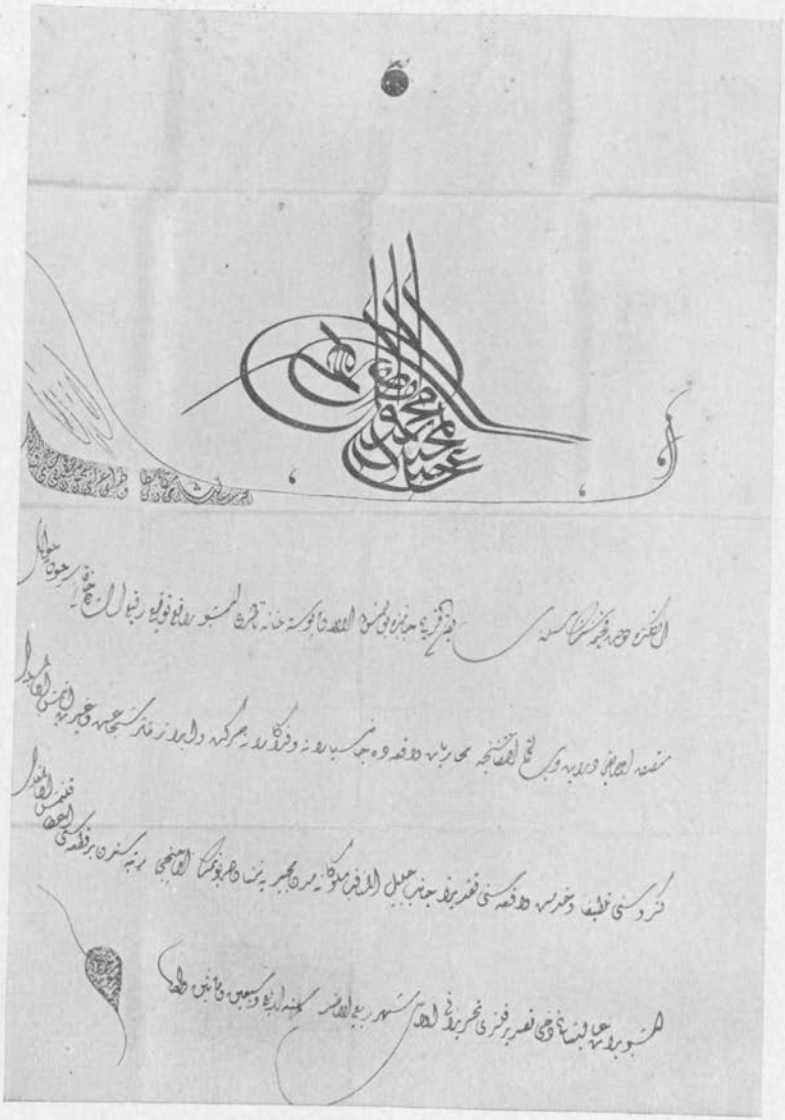
The Peace Conference which had opened at Paris towards the end of February, 1856, resulted in the Treaty of Peace concluded there on the 30th of March. But it took some time to wind up affairs in the Crimea. It was not till the 3rd of July that Sir John Hall embarked at Balaklava on the steam transport *Emperor*, and landed at Portsmouth on the 23rd of July. A little matter in which he was concerned was decided in his favour as follows, in a communication from the Director-General of the Army Medical Department dated the 3rd of October, 1856:

"Having submitted to the Secretary of State for War your letter of the 5th ult. applying to be remunerated in part of the expense to which you were subjected while attending as the representative of the military branch of your profession at the recent banquet given in Paris to the French Medical Men who have served in the late war: I have the honour to transcribe the decision of his Lordship, communicated to me by letter dated the 25th of the previous month.

"'I am directed to acquaint you that as the Naval Medical Officer, who was likewise present on the same occasion, will expect a similar rate of remuneration, his Lordship apprehends that £100 may appear as rather a

large item for the services in question ; but in view of the high position held by Sir John Hall, and the speciality of the occasion, Lord Panmure will not object to the payment of £50, in aid of Sir John Hall's expenses, notwithstanding it may appear as somewhat excessive.' "

On the 1st of January, 1857, Sir John Hall was placed on the half-pay list at £1 10s. a day ; his retired allowance was subsequently increased to £1 17s. 11d. a day, from the 1st of January, 1857, and he was granted a Good Service pension of £100 a year. He was made a member of the Legion of Honour of the third class, and a member of the third class of the Turkish Order. For his Crimean services he received the medal and four clasps ; besides his medal for service at the Cape and his Turkish medal for service in the East. When he was placed on half-pay, he had served on full-pay for thirty-nine years eleven months and two days.



SIR JOHN HALL'S TURKISH ORDER.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

1855—1856

THE course of the Crimean War and its principal events, from the day when the British Army landed in the Crimea in the middle of September, 1854, until it departed homewards in July, 1856, have been traced with sufficient fulness. The stubborn defence of the fortress of Sebastopol was not expected, so that, when the Army was detained to prosecute the siege, it experienced great sufferings (which have been described) owing to the severity of the Crimean winter and to the inadequate supply of stores from England. The violent storm of the 14th of November, which sank some of the ships laden with stores, was a serious disaster. In seven months, from a force of about 50,000, there were over 30,000 admissions into hospital from sickness, and over 9,000 deaths. The accounts received from the *Times* Special Correspondent in the Crimea, Mr. W. H. Russell, raised so angry a feeling in England that a motion was carried in the House of Commons against the Government for an inquiry into the condition of the Army in the Crimea, and the conduct of the Army Departments. The Government accordingly appointed a Commission to go out to the Crimea to inquire into the whole arrangement and management of the Commissariat in all its branches of supply and issue, and every other detail. At the head of the Commission was placed Sir John McNeill, who, originally a Medical Officer, had

risen to be British Minister in Persia, and Chairman of the Board of Supervision for the relief of the poor in Scotland. Colonel, afterwards Sir Alexander, Tulloch, Commandant of the Pensioners in Great Britain, an Officer of administrative experience, was selected to be McNeill's colleague in the Commission. Tulloch had, during his military service in India, exerted himself to expose abuses and scandals connected with the food of the soldiers, their health, their pay in depreciated coin, and other frauds, and had done much to draw attention to the question of sickness among troops. The two Commissioners received full instructions, dated the 19th and 22nd of February, 1855, as to the scope of their inquiry into the supply and distribution of food, clothing, etc., and repaired early in 1855 to the East. They reached Pera on the 6th of March, and commenced their investigations. In passing they found the hospitals at Scutari in much better order than had been expected, and it appears to be generally admitted that the state of things had begun to improve before Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch arrived at the Crimea. They disembarked at Balaklava on the 12th of March. In their inquiry they took evidence for fifty-eight days, examining more than 200 witnesses. They were well received by Lord Raglan, who ordered that every facility should be afforded to them. The following letter shows his own attitude towards Sir John McNeill as Commissioner :

"BEFORE SEBASTOPOL,
"*May 10th*, 1855.

"Having, on the receipt of the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 27th ult., referred it for the serious consideration and early report of the Inspector-General of Hospitals, I now beg leave to lay before you Dr. Hall's reply, from which it is evident that though there might still be a little quinine in the Army on the 19th of April, so small a quantity remained that just apprehensions might be entertained of its total impending

want, and a conviction felt that earlier steps should have been taken to secure the possession of an adequate quantity for the future. The moment I heard there was a scarcity, I caused a Dispenser to be sent down to Constantinople by the Mail Vessel with orders to return by the earliest opportunity with a supply, and I have now no fear of our not having with the Army at all times as much quinine as may be requisite.

"It does not appear to me that any of the Medical Officers who complained of the want did their utmost to procure some, either by application to the Inspector-General or to the Surgeons of other Regiments and Divisions.

"I am very much obliged to you for having brought this matter to my notice."

The enclosure to Lord Raglan's letter of the 10th of May, 1855, to Sir John McNeill was Dr. Hall's explanation of the 9th of May, which was couched in the following terms:

"Before Sebastopol,
"*May 9th*, 1855.

"With reference to Sir John McNeill's letter of the 27th ult., I have the honour to enclose a return of quinine in possession of both Regiments and Divisional Stores at the time I addressed my letter of the 19th of April to you, which I trust your Lordship will consider sufficiently justified my making the observation I did—viz., 'That, strictly speaking, no want of quinine existed in the Army,' because, as I stated, whether in Divisional or General Store, it was equally available; and so much is this an established rule in the service that, at p. 31 of the Hospital Regulations, the mode of accounting for stores supplied from one Regiment to another is even laid down.

"By the annexed return your Lordship will observe that at the date of communication there were 24 pounds 3 ounces 10 drachms of quinine in possession of the Army

at large, besides which the reserve medicine chest at Headquarters contained 2 pounds, which could have been obtained on application to me, or, had I known of the deficiency in the 95th Regiment, it would have been issued.

"The Surgeon of the 49th Regiment need not have been without quinine, as his own Regimental medicine chest, now in store at Balaklava, contained then, and does now, a bottle marked 'Quinine, 3 ounces,' that has never been opened since the chest was fitted up in London.

"I take leave to assure your Lordship that I neither did, nor ever intended to, hold the Dispenser of Medicines in charge of the Medical Depôt responsible for anything beyond making me acquainted with the circumstance when articles were exhausted or running low.

"But your Lordship must be aware that until very recently our means of storage at the Medical Depôt was of the most wretched and limited kind, and we had no means of keeping a large supply without risk of loss or damage. Now, however, that our means are better we shall be able to store sufficient quantity to meet all demands in future.

"Four pounds of quinine were issued to Regiments on the 30th of March, and on the 3rd of April an express demand was made on the store at Scutari for a supply. That supply, as was explained in the storekeeper's letter, was detained for a few days, owing to the *Sydney* steamer, in which it was to have come up, requiring some repairs, and it did not arrive until the 19th.

"In the meantime a Dispenser was despatched, with your Lordship's permission, by the mail steamer to bring up more; and Dr. Cumming, Principal Medical Officer at Scutari, had directed 100 pounds to be shipped in addition to the other demands, the supply in the General Store at Scutari admitting of it.

"In the treatment of the form of fever which has been prevalent in camp for some time past, quinine is not a

remedy, in my opinion, of absolute necessity. But in periodic fever it is invaluable, and, to convince your Lordship that I am fully aware of this fact, I may mention that so far back as the 10th of February last I wrote to the Director-General of the Army Medical Department to send out a supply of amorphous quinine to be mixed with wine or spirit, and given to the men as a prophylactic.

"That supply, consisting of 200 pounds, is now expected daily in the *Iron Age* and *Retriever* steamers.

"Our supply of quinine in store at present is ample, and will be sufficient, I think, for all our wants."

This inquiry is not to be confused with the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry known officially as the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat from March to May, 1855, and examined Officers who had returned from the Crimea and many others. Before long a reaction in public opinion took place, and an attack made on Lord Palmerston's Government on the 14th of May was defeated by a large majority. Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch left the Crimea at the end of May, 1855, having themselves suffered there from illness. They submitted a Preliminary Report dated the 9th of June, 1855. "This was," says the biographer of Sir John McNeill (p. 343), "incorporated in what was officially called the 'First Report,' dated 10th June, 1855. This was not laid before Parliament till the 'Second Report' was ready, in January, 1856." In their Reports they attributed the excessive mortality to overwork, exposure to wet and cold, improper food, insufficient clothing during part of the winter, and insufficient shelter from inclement weather. They laid the blame for this mortality not entirely on the failure of the home authorities to furnish adequate supplies, but they also found great fault with the "inefficiency of the General Officers of the Army in not providing for the proper distribution of stores, and in not paying sufficient attention to the welfare

of the troops." They reported the insufficiency of clothing, shelter, proper descriptions of food, the neglect to obtain proper fuel, the deficiency of land transport, the want of forage, the defective staff arrangements. They recognized the general difficulties of the situation. The Commissary-General, Mr. Filder, had resigned his appointment in August, 1855, on the ground of ill-health. The publication of the Reports caused considerable excitement. Violent attacks were made in the Press on the high Military Officers inculpated, who loudly resented the charges contained in the Reports, and the want of opportunity afforded to them to defend themselves. The Government then, in February, 1856, appointed a Board of General Officers which sat at Chelsea to inquire into the statements and evidence contained in the Reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and to receive explanations from the Officers whose conduct in the Crimea had been called in question in those Reports.

Sir John Hall could not have been a disinterested reader of the Reports or of the public comments upon them. His own opinion of the Reports is contained in his letter of the 5th of March, 1856, to the Director-General of the Army Medical Department:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA.

"In the second Report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch published in the *Evening Mail* of the 8th of February, I notice some observations on the Medical Department, and reflections on my own conduct, which demand an answer from me, because, if left in their present vague and unexplained state, they are calculated to leave an unfavourable impression on the mind of the reader which I venture to hope will be removed by the following statement of facts, and circumstances as they occurred:

"Under the head of the Medical Supplies, the Commissioners state: 'The Army landed in the Crimea without hospital marquees, conveyance for the sick, or

any other supplies for the hospitals than were contained in the pair of panniers belonging to each Corps, and the supplies of almost every description required for the proper accommodation and treatment of the sick in camp seem to have been very deficient till the middle of February. There was also a scarcity of cots or of any substitute such as boards and trestles. There was a great deficiency of mattresses; and straw, or other materials to fill palliasses could not be supplied, and even as late as the month of April many of the sick in front had no other bedding than blankets or buffalo robes, the latter of which were not issued until the end of January.'

"The Commissioners are not correct in stating that the Army landed in the Crimea without hospital marquees. Marquees were brought from Varna, but, for want of land conveyance, they were, with the exception of three in the Headquarters reserve store, re-embarked at Toultza Bay.

"Conveyance for the sick there was certainly none, beyond one wretched country cart, I think, to each brigade, the ambulance waggons having been left behind, contrary to my urgent request to have them embarked with the Army. The Committee are equally in error in stating that no supplies for the hospitals were brought except what were contained in the pair of panniers belonging to each Corps. An adequate store of medical supplies was brought with the expedition from Varna for immediate use, and a detail of these stores will be found in the Report of the Medical Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Hospitals of the British Army in the Crimea, pp. 57 and 64. Amongst these stores were 100 of 'Clark's' bedsteads, 500 sets of boards, and trestles and bedding complete, besides 2,595 spare palliasses, 2,000 bolster cases, 2,600 blankets, 1,500 rugs, and 4,600 sheets. There was great difficulty even at first in obtaining hay or straw to stuff palliasses with, and afterwards it became utterly impossible to obtain

the smallest quantity. Knowing this to be the case, I directed 1,000 Turkish sleeping mats to be purchased, when I was in Scutari in October, and sent up to the Crimea. In November a further supply of bedsteads, which arrived from England, 1,500 in number, were distributed, but unfortunately the feet of about one half of them did not arrive until January, so that there was merely the wadded sacking between the patient and the ground. Want of adequate shelter was a serious evil, and even tarpaulins and waterproof tent-bottoms did not answer, as they collected the water in pools that beat through the thin bell-tents in stormy weather, and made the men more uncomfortable than if they had had nothing on the ground.

"The Commissioners allude to the want of transport. This, after the hurricane of the 14th of November, which blew down all the hospital marquees, and damaged many of them to such a degree as to render them nearly useless, was severely felt both in getting up supplies and sending down sick to Balaklava.

"The Commissioners contrast the mortality from cholera in the Army before Sebastopol with outbreaks of that disease in civil life in other parts of the world, but they overlook the exceptional condition and position of the Army in the Crimea, and it is hardly fair to draw comparisons between it and communities placed under the most favourable circumstances as to shelter and other comfort. This want of success the Commissioners ascribe to want of peculiar remedies, but I question very much whether the result would have been materially different had the Medical Officers had the resources of the whole Apothecaries' Company at their command; for, from what I have seen of cholera, medicine is, once collapse has come on, of little avail, and it must be borne in mind that cases are not returned as cholera in the Army until collapse sets in. In civil life this rule is not followed, so that, after all, no correct data can be drawn from what is here stated by the Commissioners.

"The Commissioners state Medical Officers refrained from demanding articles they thought they could not obtain. I cannot say my experience bears the Commissioners out in this matter. On the contrary, since publicity has been given to our wants in the newspapers, and an idea got abroad that men obtained credit for what is called 'speaking out,' no sooner did an article run out in the store than numbers discovered they wanted it, and made demand for it. This occurred too constantly to have been always accidental. Sir John McNeill himself had a specimen of this kind of forbearance in the article of quinine, for the General Store in Balaklava had not been without it more than two or three days, I believe, when he was made acquainted with the circumstance by someone, either military or medical.

"Want of articles in the Divisional Stores in camp was often put down as a total want of them in the Crimea, which was by no means the case at all times.

"The Commissioners censure me for not doing what was virtually done. Dr. Forrest, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, when proceeding to Scutari in December, 1854, to assume the office of Principal Medical Officer, was specially enjoined and entreated by me to lose no time in seeing that the apothecary despatched the medicine which he, Dr. Forrest, knew we were so much in want of, and surely in his position, vested with the power and authority of Principal Medical Officer of the station, I had a right to infer, if anyone could stimulate the apothecary to activity, he was the person, and under this impression I naturally expected the arrival of the medicines daily, and did not think of sending any Officer of inferior rank down on the same duty. The fact is, the apothecary had despatched some needful medicines early in December in the *Medway* steamer, but omitted to send either an invoice or any intimation that he had done so. The master of the vessel made no report of the circumstances, or, if he did, it was never communicated either to me or any Officer of the Medical Depart-

ment, and the medicines we were so much in want of were actually carried back to Scutari, and would have been taken back a second time had I not, in consequence of information received, caused a search to be made in the vessel's hold, when they were found.

"With regard to the deficiency of quinine in the general store at Balaklava from the 1st to the 20th of April, 1855, concerning which so much has been said, I still maintain that with 26 pounds of the drug in the Crimea I was justified in saying there was no actual want of the article, and, had any representation been made to me, no single hospital need have been a day without it. The period of deficiency in the General Store was increased some days owing to the machinery of the *Sydney* steamer, on board of which the supply had been shipped at Scutari, getting out of order, and it was subsequently sent up in the *Canadian* steamer. In the Second Divisional Store there was no quinine, it is true, but Staff-Surgeon First Class Dr. Wood, the Principal Medical Officer, made no report of the circumstance to me, or I could have supplied him from the reserve store at Headquarters, and as for the several Corps stated by the Commissioners to have been deprived of the remedy on which the Medical Officer chiefly relied, these resolve themselves into the 49th and 55th and 95th Regiments.* The Medical Officer of the 55th, in his report, stated that he was in possession of quinine from a private source, so that the sick of that Corps were not deprived of its presumed advantages. The Surgeon of the 49th Regiment, who complained of being without the drug, had in his own Regimental medicine-chest in Balaklava a full bottle that had never been even opened from the time the chest was fitted up in London, so that, if his patients suffered for want of it, he had only his own indolence to blame. There cannot be a doubt about this fact, as the medicine-

* On reference to the return of quinine, I find that the 18th Regiment and F Battery in the Third Division return no quinine in possession; but, as there was quinine in the store of the Division, this can hardly be classed as a deficiency.

chest of the 49th Regiment was opened and examined in my presence. So that this reduces the Commissioners' several down to one Corps, the 95th, and the 95th was in charge of a young Assistant-Surgeon who placed his faith in quinine for the treatment of typhoid fever complicated with diarrhœa. Rather a questionable remedy, I should say, with all due deference to the opinion of the Commissioners, who seem to have made use of the generic term 'fever' in its most extended sense. But, as might have been expected under such circumstances, the mortality was in an inverse ratio to the use of the presumed specific, as will be seen on reference to the following extract from the returns of sick of the 95th Regiment:

WHEN QUININE WAS IN POSSESSION AND FREELY USED.

	Admitted.	Died.
Week ending March 17th, 1855	22	11
Week ending March 24th	31	11
Week ending March 31st	19	12
	72	34

WHEN THERE WAS NO QUININE.

	Admitted.	Died.
Week ending April 7th, 1855	16	9
Week ending April 14th	21	4
Week ending April 21st	20	2
	57	15

—or a mortality in the first instance, from the 10th to the 31st of March, in the ratio of 47·22 per cent.; and in the second instance, from the 1st to the 21st of April, in the ratio of 26·31 per cent.

"On the 9th of May I addressed a second letter to Lord Raglan on the subject of quinine, and pointed out to him where 26 pounds 3¾ ounces of quinine were, and how easy it would have been for me to provide for all real wants had I been made acquainted with them; but, as the Commissioners have not quoted that letter, which, I think, was a most important one for my case, I presume it was either not sent to them or it must have escaped their recollection, and I now take leave to annex a copy of the return which it contained.

"The Ambulance Pensioner Corps was one of the most decided failures I ever heard of, and that so many of them escaped in comparison with the troops was from the circumstance of their being exposed to none of the fatigues and perils the soldiers underwent, and their risk of contagion in the hospitals was very small indeed, as latterly very few of them were so employed.

"A Medical Staff Corps has been formed, and would answer well if it were properly officered; but with one Captain Commandant at Chatham for 1,000 or 12,000 men in different parts of the world, it will be sure to imitate the example, and in all likelihood share the fate, of the Pensioner Ambulance Corps."

To Lady Hall Sir John Hall wrote as follows:

"I send you the enclosed Report, which I have not time to get copied out, but it will put you in possession of all I have to say on the McNeill and Tulloch Commission. It is as well you should know this, as you are discreet, and I know will make good use of it if occasion arise. You must bear in mind, though, that it is an official communication to Dr. Smith, and must not be used in its present form. You are driven into print again."

He again wrote to her on the 1st of April, 1856:

"A meet day for such a communication, but, as the tin trumpet has reached modern Athens, you may make any discreet use of the enclosed you think proper. I am quite prostrated, as the General Order, procured by mendacity, has deprived me of the only real nurses we have ever had, for Mrs. Bridgman, a very superior and conscientious person, the Mother Superior of the Sisters of Charity, has positively refused to acknowledge Miss Nightingale's authority, and I cannot blame her after what is past, and they all go home on Saturday next. Thus the Government loses the free services of these

estimable women, and the soldiers the benefit of their ministration, to gratify Miss Nightingale. I was told, when I declined to interfere, that, right or wrong, Miss Nightingale's friends were powerful enough to carry her through. My reply was: 'So much the greater pity!' But I cannot write more, as it is post hour."

When Sir John Hall had had a little more time to examine the Commissioners' Reports, he submitted his explanations at greater length to the Director-General of the Army Medical Department, his official superior, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP,
"CRIMEA,
"*April 28th*, 1856.

"SIR,

"Availing myself of the permission granted by the Secretary of State for War to those Officers who feel themselves aggrieved by the statements made by Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch in their Report on the supplies for the British Army in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-55, I take leave to submit the following explanations on the undermentioned points, which, if left unnoticed, might lead to erroneous conclusions, and be received as a silent acquiescence on my part in the correctness of the Commissioners' statements, and an admission that no efforts were made by me to remedy the fearful difficulties in which the sick of the Army were placed, owing to causes over which I had no control; but this, I hope, will be obviated by the observations I am about to make, and which I request you will do me the honour to submit for consideration.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"J. HALL.
"*Inspector-General of Hospitals.*

"DR. ANDREW SMITH,
"Director-General,
"Army Medical Department,
"London."

Commissioners' Report.

"NO. 1.

"The Army landed in the Crimea without hospital marquees, conveyances for the sick, or any other supplies for the hospitals than were contained in the pair of panniers belonging to each Corps, and the supplies of almost every description required for the proper accommodation and treatment of the sick in camp seem to have been very deficient till the middle of February. There was also a scarcity of cots, or of any substitute, such as boards and trestles, but this was not much complained of, because they could not have been used in the tents in which most of the sick were placed. There was a great deficiency of mattresses; and straw, or other materials to fill palliasses, could not be supplied; and even as late as the month of April many of the sick in front had no other bedding than blankets or buffalo robes, the latter of which were not issued till the end of January. They suffered still more, perhaps, from the want of adequate shel-

Sir John Hall's Reply.

"NO. 1.

"The natural inference to be drawn from reading this paragraph is that no provisions whatever had been made for the wants of the sick or wounded of the Crimean Army beyond what was contained in the surgical panniers of each Corps. Now, this is not correct, nor is it, I hope, the meaning which the Commissioners intended to convey, because in their Report they allude to the Medical Commissioners who had preceded them, and with whose Report it is fair to assume they were acquainted, and if they had referred to that document, they would have found from p. 57 to p. 64 a detail of the reserve stores which were brought from Varna in the *John Masterman* transport, for the use of the Army, independent of the marquees and stores brought by each Regiment. As large a portion of the stores from on board the *John Masterman* as conveyance could be obtained for was landed and accompanied the Army on the line of march from Old

ter, and sufficient space to admit of their being properly attended to, as, owing to the want of hospital marquees in the camp, the greater part of the sick lay in circular tents, which are altogether unfitted for the purposes of a hospital, and it was not until the huts sent out from England were erected, in February and March, that the accommodation was such as to admit of proper medical treatments."

Fort, and in that supply three marquees were included and used at Alma, so that, as far as accuracy is concerned, the Commissioners are wrong *in limine* in this particular.

"It is not usual, as must have been well known to the military member of the Commission, for Regiments to attempt to carry either cots or boards and trestles with them on active service in the field, and on reference to the statement above alluded to, it will be seen that 100 of Clark's bedsteads and 500 sets of boards and trestles, with bedding complete, besides 2,000 sets of spare bedding, were brought in the reserve stores for the establishment of temporary General Hospitals for the reception of the sick of the Army.

"One thousand Turkish sleeping-mats were purchased in October; 675 additional bedsteads were received by the *Jura* steamer about the middle of November, and 125 more by the *Robert Lowe* in December, as well as 978 sets of boards and trestles by the *Manilla* steamer before

the 16th of January, 1855, which ought, under ordinary circumstances, to have been sufficient for the wants of the sick in the field, for it is neither convenient nor desirable to have a large accumulation of sick there; but want of transport and unusual sickness compelled us to deviate from all established rule.

"When the Army reached the heights above Sebastopol, such of the Regiments as could find their hospital marquees had them landed, and brought up to camp, and on the 15th of October fifteen that were brought with the ambulance waggons from Varna were distributed by Dr. Dumbreck. But the hurricane on the 14th of November, 1854, blew down all the tents and marquees, and damaged some of the latter to such a degree as to render them quite unserviceable, and from that period we were compelled for some time to resort chiefly to bell tents for shelter for the sick, which was miserable enough, it must be owned; for neither hay nor straw could be obtained from the

Commissariat to stuff palliasses with, and the tentage accommodation was too limited to admit of bedsteads being used in them.

"I see the Commissioners state that buffalo robes were not issued until the end of January, but here they have been led into error, as I think the issue of buffalo robes commenced as early as the 9th of January, but all the Regiments may not have received them before the period named by the Commissioners.

"The want of ambulance and other conveyance was grievously felt; but for that the Medical Department ought to be absolved of all blame, as I used my utmost endeavours to obtain it before the Army left Varna.

"I not only wrote to Lord Raglan, but I spoke to him repeatedly on the subject, and he seemed to acquiesce in my views, but I cannot tell why none were sent. Twelve waggons were actually embarked on board the *London* steamer at Varna with mules, harness, and drivers complete, but were relanded by someone's orders after Lord Raglan had sailed."

"NO. 2.

"Nearly all the Medical Officers of the Infantry Corps in front complained of the want of transport to bring up from Balaklava even the most indispensable supplies to the hospital. Major-General Codrington, commanding the First Brigade of the Light Division, says: 'The hospitals suffered terribly from the want of transport. Their state was frightful, from the increasing number of sick, the diminishing means of transport, and the consequent impossibility of doing anything for the sick.'"

"NO. 2.

"The want of conveyance was severely felt both in getting up stores from Balaklava and in taking down sick for embarkation to Scutari. The twelve ambulance waggons, which had arrived from Varna on the 10th of October, were rendered nearly useless by the end of November by the state of the mules. And the Commissariat were unable to afford us any assistance. We were compelled to solicit the aid of the French ambulance to transport our sick down to Balaklava: artillery waggons were ordered to afford assistance, and finally the cavalry horses were employed for that purpose, by which means such men as were able to sit on horseback were got away, but a great number of sick, whom it was not desirable to remove, were left in the field hospitals by this arrangement."

"NO. 3.

"During the month of February the supplies of medicines and medical comforts began to improve,

"NO. 3.

"Blankets and warm underclothing were issued in December, and buffalo robes early in January.

and by the middle of March they seem to have been generally ample. The issues of blankets, and the supply of buffalo robes in the end of January had previously provided a tolerable substitute for bedding, and when the hospital huts were erected, these, together with such marquees as the Corps had previously possessed, afforded sufficient and comfortable accommodation. In the month of April, when fresh bread was issued, the Medical Officers generally declared they were perfectly satisfied with the supplies and the accommodation provided for their patients."

"Fresh bread was purchased, and issued to the sick in the General Hospital at Balaklava early in February, and finding it both beneficial and much sought after, I directed the Purveyor to enter into an agreement with the only baker there was to supply a certain number of loaves a day, which was done on the 28th of that month; and on the 8th of March I submitted a contract for Lord Raglan's approval, which met his ready sanction, and he submitted it for Mr. Filder's immediate report that very day.

"Mr. Filder reported that the conditions of the contract were fair and reasonable, but that the Commissariat, and not the Medical Department, must, agreeably to the regulations of the service, make the contract.

"Application had previously been made to the Commissariat, by my order, for fresh bread for the sick, which could not be supplied. Some little delay took place in completing the contract, but fresh bread was purchased by the Purveyor

and issued to the sick in hospital at Balaklava, and, I believe, occasionally to other hospitals.

"But until a regular supply was secured, a general daily issue to the sick in all the hospitals could not be met, and, I believe, did not take place till April."

"NO. 4.

"Even after the supplies of medicines had become generally abundant, it occasionally happened that some of those which were most employed by the Medical Officers could not be supplied from the general store. Thus there had been a deficiency of opium and of some other medicines much employed during the prevalence of diseases of the bowels, and, after the store had been amply replenished with those remedies, the decrease of that class of ailments and the increase of fevers caused a demand for quinine which the stores were not always able to satisfy."

"NO. 4.

"The only occasion on which quinine was wanting, except the one specially alluded to in Para. 10, is the one I see mentioned in Sir John McNeill's letter to Lord Raglan of the 27th of April, 1855, where he states that Dr. Robertson, Staff-Surgeon in charge of one of the Divisions (Staff-Surgeon Roberts is clearly the Officer alluded to here, as no Staff-Surgeon of the name of Robertson was at that time in charge of a Division), mentioned in his evidence that he had reported to me the want of quinine in the General Store at Balaklava on the 3rd of March.

"This on reference I find is perfectly correct, as the last quinine was issued on

the 2nd of March, and a supply, which had been demanded from Scutari on the 21st of January, did not arrive till the 11th of March. But there were 8 pounds 12 ounces of cinchonine in store at the time, which many medical men think just as efficacious as quinine, and Mr. Roberts was aware this preparation was available, as he had drawn 1 pound of it on the 1st of March for the Fourth Division, and another pound was issued to his order on the 12th of March.

"This is a good example, if not of the forbearance of Medical Officers described by the Commissioners, at all events of the vigilance exercised by them in all matters connected with the supply of public stores, after the system of what was termed 'speaking out' was established. I do not complain of this, as all defects and deficiencies should be corrected and supplied as soon as possible, but I do feel and think that if many of the gentlemen who have so freely spoken out had had the trouble, anxiety, and perplexity of

providing stores for so unusual a demand as there was during the winter of 1854-55, in place of merely signing requisitions for them, they would, perhaps, have been more considerate and charitable in their comments.

"The Surgeon of the 42nd Highlanders was so hard pressed for a complaint that he stated to the Commissioners neither strychnine, nor leeches, nor gallic acid were in store. The two medicines are extra to the printed list allowed by the Regulations of the service, and leeches are, *even* at home, only used on rare occasions. There is no date to Mr. Forlong's reply, but as he commences by saying, 'Since March medical comforts have been plentiful,' I presume it was written after that date.

"Strychnine and gallic acid, though extra medicines, were demanded, and the store in Balaklava was supplied with them on the 7th of May, 1855.

"An arrangement was made early in the spring for obtaining a regular supply of leeches from Sinope

in Asia Minor; and the Principal Medical Storekeeper at Scutari was written to to send up 1,500, but by some mismanagement in packing they were all dead when they reached Balaklava."

"NO. 5.

"The proportion of deaths to admissions in some of the diseases bears painful evidence, particularly in the month of December, to the absence of those remedies on which reliance could best be placed for relief. In cholera, for instance, the usual loss has, in our Army, been about one in three at home, or on foreign stations where this epidemic has prevailed; but in the Crimea, during the period under observation, it was two in every three attacked."

"NO. 5.

"The mortality from cholera in the month of December, 1854, was lamentable; but it is a question very difficult to define how much of this may fairly be attributed to the want of certain remedies, and how much to the physical wants of the men at the time.

"In the collapse stage of cholera few medical men, I apprehend, attach much importance to any particular remedy, or plan of treatment, but all admit the advantage of social comforts.

"The Commissioners seem to have overlooked the exceptional condition and position of the Army before Sebastopol when cholera prevailed, and have contrasted it with outbreaks of the same disease at home, and in other parts of the world under ordinary circumstances.

"The mortality at the commencement of all epidemics is always the highest, and to have made a fair comparison the month of December should have been contrasted with the commencement of the disease in other places, and even then only true cases of cholera should have been included, which makes a wonderful difference in the mortality statistics of the disease.

"Unfortunately I have no documents or data here to which I can refer by way of comparison, but, trusting to memory, I should wish the mortality of the 86th Regiment at Karachi, in Sindh, in the summer of 1846 (I think),* when the Regiment was in comfortable and settled quarters, and that of the 18th, 51st, and 80th Regiments, at the commencement of the last Burmese War to be contrasted with the mortality in the Crimea in the month of December, 1854.

"Dr. Sutherland, Sanitary Commissioner, gives

* "On reference, I find the 86th Regiment had recently come off a march, and were encamped at Karachi, and not in barracks, as I imagined. Of the first 100 men attacked, 79 died; of the second 100 men attacked, 66 died; of the third 100 men attacked, 50 died; of the fourth 100 men attacked, 40 died—making a mean mortality of 59 per cent."

the following as the law of mortality in cholera :

" Two-thirds at the commencement, and may rise as high as 80, or even 90, per cent., but, taking an ordinary epidemic in civil life, from 50 to 53 per cent. of deaths may be assumed as the average.

" In Bombay, out of 348 Europeans admitted into the Civil Hospital there labouring under cholera, between 1838 and 1853, 196 died, or 58·6 per cent., and of 1,053 natives admitted into the same institution between 1848 and 1853, 574 died, or 54·5 per cent.

" In the British Army in Bulgaria and the Crimea, out of 7,850 admissions into hospital, under all the disadvantages the men laboured, the mortality amounted only to 57·26 per cent., which does not bear out the conclusions the Commissioners have come to, or justify the observations they have chosen to indulge in concerning the causes of this mortality, because it has been clearly proved by subsequent outbreaks of the disease that the want or supply of this or that particular medicine has no perceptible in-

fluence over the ratio of mortality, and, if my own opinion were asked, I should say, from what I have seen, that medicine is utterly useless, if not absolutely injurious, in the collapse stage of cholera. In the early or premonitory stage certain remedies are invaluable in arresting purging, but, once collapse has fairly set in, I'll be bound to say more patients will recover under an unlimited supply of barley or rice water with carbonate of soda dissolved in it in the proportion of ½ ounce to a gallon—iced water, or even milk and water—than under the use of the most costly drugs administered by the most scientific hands. The fact is, as everyone knows, that during the collapse stage of cholera the power of absorption ceases, and such articles as calomel, brandy, opium, arnica, etc., if not rejected by the salutary process of vomiting at the time, are retained to act as poisons on the system at a subsequent period, and cut off almost all chance of the patient's ultimate recovery."

"NO. 6.

"As instances of the difficulty of procuring medicines, we have given the requisitions made by several of the Medical Officers, with the quantities received; but it must not be supposed, because no such deficiency appears in the requisitions of others, that they received all they wanted. Most of the Officers, finding it useless to send for medicines and medical comforts not in store, limited their requisitions to such as they knew could be given, and did the best they could with them."

"NO. 6.

"Requisitions were generally made on the Divisional stores by Regimental Officers, and if the article could not be obtained there, it was presumed not to exist.

"I cannot say that I have noticed much forbearance on the part of Medical Officers in making demands for articles not in store, nor would the perusal of the evidence given by most of them before either this, or the Medical Commission which preceded it, lead to a supposition that any such consideration swayed them.

"Sir John McNeill himself had a good example of this kind of forbearance in the article of quinine, which had not been wanting in the General Store in Balaklava for more than two or three days when someone either military or medical made the deficiency known to him."

"NO. 7.

"The Inspector-General states that the deficiencies in the General Store at Balaklava arose partly from a failure in the depôt at

"NO. 7.

"The deficiency of medicines most in demand during the early part of the winter was owing, in the first instance, to the loss

Scutari to comply with his requisitions, and the tardiness with which the supplies from thence were sometimes forwarded, as well as from the omission, on some occasions, of any notice of their shipment, in consequence of which they were not landed. Difficulty and delay were also sometimes caused by their being stowed under a great part of the cargo, which it was necessary to discharge before they could be got at."

"NO. 8.

"Though the correspondence, at pp. 164 to 172 of the *Prince* steamer, which foundered off Balaklava in the hurricane of the 14th of November, 1854, with a full supply on board.

"The deficiency occasioned by the loss of the *Prince* could not be immediately replaced, and our difficulties and embarrassment were increased by the death of the Chief Apothecary at the end of November, and by the want of business habits of his successor, who did not promptly comply with the demands made upon him; and when he did comply he sent no notification of the names of the vessels, or dates of shipment of the stores to the authorities in the Crimea, so that their coming to hand correctly was mere matter of chance, and on some occasions, as in the case of the *Medway*, this omission was severely felt, and the delay in the delivery of the medicines we so much required was attended with serious inconvenience."

"NO. 8.

"The Commissioners assume that no steps were

Appendix, no doubt shows that repeated applications were made by the Inspector-General to the reserve depôt at Scutari for medicines and medical comforts, to meet the wants of the hospitals in the Crimea, we feel bound to express our opinion that at a time when the existence of a great portion of the sick was imperilled by the absence of these supplies, something more than the mere transmission of the usual official demand on the Purveyor or the Apothecary at Scutari was necessary, to relieve the Inspector-General of his responsibility; and when he found the inattention to these applications causing a delay of nearly two months in the arrival of supplies, for which the demand was urgent, it appears to us that he ought to have taken some more decided steps to insure attention to his requisitions. A proper Officer might have been sent to Scutari, with instructions to bring back whatever was most urgently required for the hospitals."

taken to insure supplies being sent up from Scutari beyond those of urgent written representations to the authorities there, which ought to have been sufficient; but had they asked me the question, before publicly censuring me in their Report, I could, and would, have informed them that when Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, Dr. Forrest, was sent down to Scutari in December, 1854, to assume the duties of Principal Medical Officer of the station, he was specially charged and enjoined by me to urge the despatch of the stores which he knew the Army stood so much in need of. And surely, in his position, vested with the power and authority of Principal Medical Officer of the station, I had a right to infer that, if anyone could stimulate the Apothecary and Purveyor to activity, he was the person; and under that impression I naturally expected the arrival of the medicines daily, and did not think of sending anyone of inferior rank down on the same errand.

" The fact is, the Apothecary had despatched some needful medicines early in December in the *Medway* steamer, but omitted to send either an invoice or any intimation that he had done so. The master of the vessel made no report of the circumstance, or, if he did, it was never communicated either to me or anyone of the Medical Department, and the medicines we were so much in need of were actually carried back to Scutari, and would have been taken back a second time had I not, in consequence of information received, caused search to be made in the vessel's hold, where they were found."

" NO. 9.

" In some cases, however, the deficiency appears to have arisen from imperfect arrangements in the Crimea. The storekeeper in charge of the Medical stores at Balaklava had instructions to intimate when any drugs were running short, and the sufficiency of the supply seems to have depended upon his vigilance and foresight; but as he was not

" NO. 9.

" There is nothing unusual or improper in depending on those in charge of stores for information of this kind, nor is there much use in calling for returns or imposing duties on men that cannot be performed.

" At the beginning of the winter the storage on shore for medicines was strictly limited, and of the most wretched kind, and

informed of changes in the prevailing diseases, he could not anticipate the demand to which that change would give rise, and it was only from the extent of the requisitions for particular remedies, which perhaps exhausted the supply in store, that he became aware of the necessity of replenishing his stock."

"NO. 10.

"It therefore happened that from the 30th of March to the 20th of April, when fever most prevailed, and quinine was extensively used as a remedy, and, in some Corps, still more extensively as a prophylactic, there was none of the medicine in the General Store at Balaklava, though a large supply was lying at Scutari. There was indeed a certain quantity in most of the Divisional Stores, but in one there was none, and several Corps which had been using it extensively were thus suddenly deprived of the remedy on which their Medical Officers had chiefly relied. This deaccess to the store-ship was tedious and laborious. The establishment was small and overworked, and I was compelled to take these circumstances into consideration, and fortunate will be the Army on service that never has any temporary wants or deficiencies that cannot be as regularly supplied as they are in quarters at home."

"NO. 10.

"With regard to the deficiency of quinine in the General Store at Balaklava from the 1st to the 20th of April, 1855, alluded to in the Report, and concerning Sir John McNeill's letter to the late Lord Raglan on the subject, I still maintain that with 26 pounds of the drug in the Crimea I was perfectly justified in saying there was no actual want of the article; and had any representation been made to me, no single hospital need have been a day without it. Nothing 'very hazardous,' I should think, in making such an assertion, whatever the Commissioners may say to the contrary.

ficiency was partial and temporary, but its occurrence, after so much of public attention had been directed to the subject, indicated a defect in the system, which was pointed out to Lord Raglan in a letter of the 27th of April."

"The period of deficiency in the General Store was increased some days owing to the machinery of the *Sydney* steamer, on board of which the quinine had been shipped, getting out of order, and it had to be subsequently sent up in the *Canadian* steamer, which arrived on the 19th of April.

"In the Second Divisional stores, it is true, there was no quinine; but Staff-Surgeon Dr. Wood, Principal Medical Officer, made no report of the circumstance to me, or I would have supplied him from the reserve store-chest at Headquarters; and as for the several Corps stated by the Commissioners to have been deprived of the remedy on which the Medical Officers chiefly relied, these resolve themselves into the 49th, 55th, and 95th Regiments, G Battery, and C Troop of Horse Artillery. The 18th Regiment, and F Battery of Artillery in the 3rd Division returned no quinine in possession, but as there was quinine in the Divisional store of the Third Division at the time, the Medical

Officers could have obtained it, had they required it, so that could hardly be termed a deficiency.

"The Medical Officer in charge of the 55th Regiment stated that he was in possession of quinine from a private source, so that sick of that Corps were not deprived of its presumed advantages; the Surgeon of the 49th Regiment, who complained of being without the drug, had in his own Regimental medicine-chest in Balaklava a bottleful that had never been opened from the time the chest was fitted up in London, so that, if his patients suffered for want of it, he had only his own indolence or negligence to blame. There cannot be a doubt of the fact, as the medicine-chest of the 49th Regiment was opened and examined in my presence. So that this reduces the Commissioners' "several" down to *one Corps*, the 95th Regiment, and one Battery, and one Troop of Artillery, and as no casualty occurred in either the Battery or Troop of Artillery, during the three weeks when there

was no quinine in store, its want could not have been very severely felt.

"The 95th Regiment was in charge of a young Assistant-Surgeon who placed his confidence in quinine for the treatment of typhoid fever complicated with diarrhœa. Rather a questionable remedy, I should say, with all due deference to the Commissioners, who seem to have made use of the generic term 'fever' in its most extended sense. But, as might reasonably have been expected, under such circumstances, the mortality was in an inverse ratio to the use of the specific, as will be seen on reference to the following extract from the weekly returns of sick of the 95th Regiment:

FOR THREE WEEKS FROM MARCH 10TH TO 31ST, WHEN QUININE WAS IN POSSESSION AND FREELY USED.

Remained sick in hospital, March 10th ..		120
	Admitted.	Died.
Week ending March 17th, 1855 ..	22	11
Week ending March 24th	31	11
Week ending March 31st	19	12
	72	34

FOR THREE WEEKS WHEN THERE WAS NO QUININE IN STORE, AND FOR THE LAST TWO OF WHICH THERE WAS NONE IN POSSESSION OF THE ASSISTANT-SURGEON OF THE 95TH REGIMENT.

Remained April 1st, 1855.. 82

	Admitted.	Died.
Week ending April 7th	16	9
Week ending April 14th	21	4
Week ending April 21st	20	2
	57	15

—or a mortality in the first instance, from the 10th to the 31st of March, in the ratio of 47·22 per cent.; and in the second instance, from the 1st to the 21st of April, of 26·31 per cent.

"On the 9th of May I addressed a second letter to Lord Raglan on the subject of quinine, and pointed out to him where the 26 pounds $3\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of quinine were, and how easy it would have been for me to provide for all real wants had I been made acquainted with them, but, as the Commissioners have not quoted that letter, which, I think, was a most important one for my case, I can only presume, as I know it was sent to them by Lord Raglan, that it must have escaped their

recollection, and I take leave now to annex a copy of it, as well as a copy of the return which accompanied it—Lord Raglan's remarks on the evidence submitted to him by Sir John McNeill, and a copy of a letter in his own handwriting addressed to myself, acknowledging the receipt of my letter of the 9th of May, and informing me that he had transmitted it to Sir John McNeill.

" In conclusion I may be permitted to add that, although much misery undoubtedly existed, and a great mortality occurred in the Army during the winter of 1854-55, I question very much, notwithstanding all that has been said and written to the contrary, whether any operations in war conducted on the scale these have been have ever been carried out with less loss of human life, as the deaths from all causes during the two years the Army has been in Turkey have only amounted to 21·23 per cent., or 6 per cent. less than the loss sustained by the European Regiments employed

for sixteen months in Burmah during the last war in that country.

"The mortality of other wars can readily be ascertained by those who have access to books; but I think our loss in this war will bear comparison with that of either our allies or enemies: 97,934 men landed in the country, and of these 20,809 were either killed or died of disease.

"JOHN HALL,
"*Inspector-General of Hospitals.*"

"The French, out of a force of 230,000 men, state that they lost 62,000, invalided 30,000, and took back to France 120,000, which leaves 20,000 men unaccounted for. But taking the above data, and leaving the 20,000 men unaccounted for out of the question, their loss has been considerably higher than that of the English.

"JOHN HALL."

Meanwhile, the Board of General Officers had been sitting at Chelsea from the 3rd of April, 1856. They held forty-six meetings, and issued their Report on the 4th of July. Sir John McNeill absented himself altogether from the Inquiry of this Board; Colonel Tulloch attended some

of its meetings. Eventually, the Chelsea Board exonerated the General Officers and all concerned, and laid, it has been briefly said, the whole blame of the Crimean disasters on the home authorities, chiefly for not supplying sufficient forage. The Commissary-General was held not to be responsible, as regards the supplies, for the unsatisfactory state of the Army in the Crimea. Colonel Tulloch wrote a book defending the Report of the Commissioners and criticizing that of the Chelsea Board. In consequence of a vote in Parliament on the 12th of March, 1857, honours were conferred upon both the Commissioners.

Some correspondence, in which Sir John Hall was concerned, with reference to statements made by the Commissioners in their Reports, passed in August-October, 1856, should find a place here. On August 23, 1856, Sir John McNeill wrote from Granton House, Edinburgh, to Colonel Mundy, discussing Sir John Hall's criticism of the Report of the McNeill Commission.

The War Department to Dr. Smith.

" *September* 10*th*, 1856.

" SIR,

" With reference to your letters of the 11th of June and the 11th of July last, forwarding papers from Sir John Hall, containing his observations on certain portions of the Report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch on the supplies made to the British Army in the East during the winter of 1854-55, I am directed by Lord Panmure to acquaint you that his Lordship has communicated the same to Sir John McNeill, and I am to transmit herewith for your information copies of a letter and of its enclosure which have been received from him in reply.

" Lord Panmure directs me to state that, as the Board of General Officers at Chelsea have closed their Inquiry and made their Report, his Lordship must decline to be the medium of carrying on a correspondence of a con-

troversial nature between Sir John Hall and the Commissioners touching any matters contained in the Report of the latter.

"I am, sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"F. PEEL."

Dr. D. Dumbreck, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, to Sir John Hall.

"ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,
"*September 17th*, 1856.

"I am desired by the Director-General to forward for your perusal a communication from the Under-Secretary of State, dated the 10th inst., with a copy of a letter and its enclosure which have been sent to the Secretary of State for War by Sir John McNeill, with reference to certain portions of the Report of that gentleman, conjointly with Colonel Tulloch, on the supplies made to the British Army in the East during the winter of 1854-55.

"I am also to direct your attention to the closing paragraph of Mr. Peel's letter, from which it appears that; 'as the Board of General Officers at Chelsea have closed their Inquiry and made their Report, Lord Panmure declines to be the medium of carrying on a correspondence of a controversial nature between you and the Commissioners touching any matters contained in the Report of the latter.'"

Sir John Hall to Sir John McNeill.

"OSBORNE HOUSE,
"RUGBY, WARWICKSHIRE,
"*October 6th*, 1856.

"I have been favoured with a copy of your letter of the 23rd of August to the Secretary of State for War in reply to my observations on the Report of the Commission on supplies in the Crimea, of which you were President, and as his Lordship declines to be the medium of any

further controversial correspondence on the subject now that the Board of General Officers has closed its Report, I trust you will permit me to address you direct, and point out one or two passages in your letter where it appears to me you have either misapprehended my meaning or the information furnished to you has been defective.

" You state : ' It is to be observed, however, that Sir John Hall has not mentioned at what date he sent Dr. Forrest to Scutari on this particular service, neither has he given a copy of the instructions with which that Officer was no doubt furnished for his guidance in the performance of the urgent and important duty which had been specially entrusted to him by Sir John Hall. In the absence of that information, it appears to me that the Inspector-General's remarks leave the matter precisely where it was before they were made.' But had you read my remarks, you would have found that at Paragraph 8 I have stated ' that when Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals, Dr. Forrest, was sent down to Scutari in December, 1854, to assume the duties of Principal Medical Officer of the station, he was specially charged and enjoined by me to urge the despatch of the stores which he knew the Army stood so much in need of. And surely, in his position, vested with the power and authority of Principal Medical Officer of the station, I had a right to infer that, if anyone could stimulate the Apothecary and Purveyor to activity, he was the person ; and under that impression I naturally expected the arrival of the medicines daily, and did not think of sending anyone of inferior rank down on the same errand.'

" No written instructions were given to Dr. Forrest on the occasion, nor were they considered necessary at the time, but, had I been summoned before the Board of General Officers at Chelsea, I should have called on him as evidence to prove by *vivâ voce* testimony the correctness of my statement, which you seem to doubt. I should also have summoned Dr. Alexander, and some others,

touching the evidence they gave before your Commission, but that is foreign to my present purpose.

"In your letter to the Minister of State for War you mention that the accuracy of my statement regarding the quantity of quinine in camp was never questioned, and that it was substantiated by the evidence of Mr. Fernandez, the Apothecary; whereas, in your letter to Lord Raglan of the 27th of April, 1855, you state that I had made a hazardous statement about it, and this part of your correspondence you publish without inserting my reply and explanation, thus giving an impression much more unfavourable to me than anything the publication of the whole correspondence could possibly have done; for, whatever opinion Lord Raglan might have entertained about 26 pounds of quinine as a temporary supply, no one who knew anything of the drug could have felt any serious apprehension on the subject, with that quantity actually on hand, when the fresh supply arrived; for it must be borne in mind that my return was made out near the close, and not at the commencement of the period of assumed scarcity; and though you place much stress on Lord Raglan's having sanctioned the despatch of a dispenser of medicines to Scutari, no advantage was really gained by that measure, as the supply which had been previously demanded arrived the day after his departure from the Crimea, and it would have arrived a week before had not an accident happened to the machinery of the steamer on board of which it was shipped.

"You express surprise at my not having furnished a copy of Lord Raglan's official letter to you of the 10th of May, 1855, but surely you cannot feel this, as you must know I had no authority to make use of an official communication addressed to you. It was that feeling which restrained me, and not a wish to suppress the document, as your letter infers. On the contrary, Lord Raglan's letter calls attention to a point which would have afforded me an opportunity of proving, had an inquiry taken place, that this was not a solitary instance where certain

Medical Officers did nothing to aid themselves, and much to embarrass me.

"I know no reason why you should entertain any personal hostile feeling to me, and I should be unwilling to entertain such an opinion. You could only judge by what was stated to you by individuals without knowing the animus which prompted them to make their statements, and, as no opportunity was afforded me, or anyone who was attacked, of giving explanations or correcting erroneous impressions, many statements were received as evidence that would not have borne investigation, and, until your printed Report appeared, no one knew what had been stated by others."

When Sir John Hall's claim to a Good Service Pension was under consideration, he was able to submit a number of excellent testimonials which he received from the Officers with whom he had been connected during his long active service.

The following is an extract from a letter dated Paris, the 18th of August, 1858, from General Sir Alexander Woodford, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., who was Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar during the whole time Sir John Hall served there as Surgeon of the 33rd Regiment:

"After all your exertions for the good of the Service in the Crimea, I think that you will have every claim to a Good Service Pension, and that any remarks from me would be, I may say, superfluous; but as you have written to me to remind me of the time when you served with the 33rd at Gibraltar, I may assure you that I have a lively recollection of the manner in which you performed all your professional duties during the whole period I had the pleasure of observing the 33rd under my command.

"Being a frequent visitor at the hospital, I had many opportunities of forming an opinion of your zeal, attention, and ability, and I sincerely hope you will be successful in obtaining whatever will contribute to your comfort and advantage in your retirement."

As he was Surgeon of the 33rd Regiment from July, 1829, to February, 1841, during which period the Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moffatt and Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, both of whom had since died, he submitted the three following testimonials from Officers who had served in and were present with the 33rd Regiment during the whole period he was Surgeon of it :

From Colonel Harty, K.H., late 33rd Regiment.

"LONDON,
"*August*, 1858.

"Sir John Hall served with me in the 33rd Regiment for upwards of twelve years, during which time he performed his duties to the satisfaction of the Officers and men of the Corps."

From Lieutenant-Colonel Whannele, lately Commanding 33rd Regiment.

"LONDON,
"*October 10th*, 1858.

"It is a source of much gratification to me to have an opportunity of recording the very high opinion I have always entertained of the indefatigable zeal and assiduity manifested by you frequently, under very trying and serious circumstances, in the performance of your arduous duties as Surgeon during the long period we served together in the 33rd Regiment.

"I can, of course, say nothing of your professional treatment of diseases, except that I know it was generally considered successful. I can, however, with truth assert that it was impossible for any Medical Officer to evince more anxiety for, or to show more genuine kindness and care to, every case under your charge, whether Officer, soldier, woman, or child, than you did.

"Your hospital for cleanliness, good order, and regularity was at all times a pattern to others.

"The opinion I have expressed above was not mine

solely; it was that of every Officer of the Corps, particularly so of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, who for many years was in command.

"At the end of 1841 the Regiment, then under my command, having suffered severely from yellow fever at Barbados, was ordered to St. Vincent, where on our arrival we found the same fatal disease prevailing to such an extent that you may remember we could not occupy the fort or barracks for several weeks, and I am convinced that it was entirely owing to the judicious arrangements and regulations made by you as Principal Medical Officer of the island that we were saved from serious loss of life, and that the health of the Regiment was restored and preserved during the time it served there."

From Colonel R. Westmore, late Commanding 33rd Regiment.

"UNITED SERVICE CLUB,
"*October 22nd*, 1858.

"Sir John Hall served with me as Surgeon of the 33rd Regiment from July, 1829, to February, 1841, and I can confidently state that during that lengthened period he devoted his entire time and attention to the discharge of his important medical duties, which he performed to the entire satisfaction of the Officers and men of the Corps."

One of the best of Sir John Hall's testimonials was a copy of the General Order (p. 277) issued by His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope, on the occasion of the former being ordered to proceed from the Cape for service in India, dated Headquarters, King William's Town, the 5th of July, 1851.

Sir John Hall was able also to refer to a despatch of Lord Raglan's, thus:

"During my service in the Crimea I was favourably mentioned in Lord Raglan's Despatch after the Battle of

the Alma,* and for my subsequent services in that country I was rewarded with the honour of being created a Knight Commander of the Honourable Order of the Bath.

"I have, on different occasions in the course of my lengthened service, been favoured with the approval of the head of my own Department for my Reports and for the manner in which my public duty was performed."

* "Extract from Despatch:

"'Mr. Commissary-General Filder and Dr. Hall, the Principal Medical Officer, were in the field the whole time, and merit my approbation for their exertions in the discharge of their onerous duties.'"

CHAPTER XVII

OTHER VIEWS OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

IT has not been thought desirable to interrupt the main flow of the narrative of the Crimean campaign as contained in Sir John Hall's papers. But, besides him, there were many other observers of passing events, with access to good information and capable of arriving at sound judgments on the facts. Some of their observations and opinions are worthy of mention, as also those of historians of the war, who presumably did their best to ascertain and record the truth. In this Chapter, accordingly, will be collected from various sources some references to matters of importance connected with the campaign, which may be useful in assisting the reader in forming his own opinion on some of the points which have been discussed.

In the first place, the *Life of Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole, contains the following passages, which refer specially to the question of the hospitals at Scutari and the neighbourhood :

" The heavy losses of our troops at the Alma and Balaklava entailed fresh and onerous duties at Constantinople. It had been presumed that ample accommodation had been provided for the sick and wounded at the hospital at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, immediately opposite Pera ; but when the transports laden with maimed and fevered soldiers began to arrive in an apparently interminable succession, it was soon discovered that there was neither accommodation nor medical and

nursing staff, nor furniture and stores, at all adequate to the sudden and severe strain."*

"At this early stage of the war the work of providing for the necessities of the hospitals depended almost entirely on the British Embassy."†

"It is to be inferred that in the opinion of Dr. Menzies the wants of the patients are either supplied already, or in a fair way of being so, without further interference on my part."‡

"The Sultan and his Government must come to the relief of our hospitals without a moment's delay."§

Mr. Lane-Poole states in the same biography that they were understood to be willing, but they had still to understand the urgency of the case. Application had to be made to Ferik Effendi, to the Seraskier, and to Reshid Pasha, even to the Sultan himself. The sick and wounded continued to come in so numerously that, notwithstanding the additional assistance and stores lately arrived, there was a deficiency in several important respects. First of all, more accommodation was wanted. It was necessary to apply for the Kulali *hospital* again, and to insist upon having the *kiosk* on the cliff below the barracks at Scutari, if it were not already given up; also the buildings at Hayder Pasha, where the Duke of Cambridge resided at one time, and some houses in Scutari nearest to the barracks. If these buildings could not be granted, it would remain to apply for the *Sultan's house at Seraglio Point*. The circumstances were pressing—the English were sacrificing their heart's blood, the best they had. They looked to the Sultan to give something more substantial than sweetmeats. If he would not make his subjects turn out for poor suffering martyrs, he was to be desired to make room in his own palace. He was to be approached personally, though in respectful terms, if necessary. The next thing was that the buildings already

* *Life of Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, by S. Lane-Poole, vol. ii., pp. 374-375.

† *Ibid.*, p. 377. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 378. § *Ibid.*, p. 379.

occupied required some essential repairs. Application had been made, assurances had been given, but the work remained to be done. The English complained of the delay, and insisted upon the repairs being commenced immediately.

Then came the want of stoves. The stoves themselves had in part to be procured from the Turks, and there was the fitting them with pipes and putting them up.

Another urgent matter was the accommodation required for the sick and wounded Russians. On first arrival they lived in the barracks, partaking of everything in common with the British soldiers. When it appeared that the apartments occupied by the Russians were wanted for the British wounded, the time came for thinking, however reluctantly, of providing for them elsewhere. Only the Seraskier, or someone with local knowledge, could say what was the best expedient to adopt; but honour, as well as humanity, was concerned in the good treatment of the Russians. Their case had a strong hold upon feelings of humanity, as they were helpless from wounds and sickness. Orders had to be given on small matters, such as the *completion of the kitchen* in the barracks near Scutari, and the *erection of temporary barracks* within the inner barrack square. Moreover, *houses in Scutari* were required for fifty or sixty Officers. There was yet another serious want — namely, of a steamer to ply between Scutari and Pera every day at stated hours. Daily needs had to be supplied. One day bread was not forthcoming. As the Kulali Barracks were a very long way off, it would have been preferable to have the hospital arrangements nearer at hand, but it was thought that the Russians might go there. The demand for proper accommodation and other necessaries admitted of no delay, and personal application and complaint to the Sultan were possible if any difficulties were made. The English view was that, as they bore the brunt of the war, the Turks must bear the brunt of the hospitals.

But there was another side to the question. Whatever

difficulties were experienced in carrying out the constant demands for more accommodation and supplies were due, it was said, mainly to the English authorities. The Sultan was ready enough to give up his palaces and barracks to the wounded, and to order his Ministers to collect supplies and stores; but the fact remained that the Sultan and the British Minister and the markets were on one shore of the Bosphorus, and most of the hospitals were on the other side, whilst between them the transport service was hardly in existence. The Naval Officers appeared wholly incapable of organizing the troublesome and intricate duties of this important Department, nor was it altogether their fault. They were undermanned, and the supply of steam vessels available was so inadequate that they could not furnish one to ply across the Bosphorus for the service of the hospitals; but the patients were numerous, the buildings were spacious, and many of the later arrivals were in need even of proper bedding, which ought to have been easily obtained from Constantinople.

On the question of medical relief provided from private sources Lord Stratford had somewhat strong opinions. He did not like to hear of private money being offered for Government purposes. In his eyes, such subscriptions were a disgrace to his country's service. While he was furnished with large powers for providing whatever was needed, it displeased him to see private individuals unnecessarily coming forward to do things for which public resources were properly responsible. So, when a gentleman arrived from the *Times* with a large fund to disburse for the hospitals, Lord Stratford in all sincerity answered him that it was not needed, and that the money might more suitably be employed in building a much-wanted Protestant church at Pera.

The following passages from Lord Stratford's biography are very significant:

"It is only fair to add that the *Times* came to see its error, and one who had the best authority for speaking

in the name of the paper assured me of its absolute retractation of the charges which had been advanced in a period of popular excitement."*

"England was palpitating with sympathy and indignation, but her hearty aid was long in reaching the sufferers, and many of her gifts went astray and never served the end to which they were so anxiously and lovingly destined. A violent public feeling was rising against incompetent officialism, and like many popular sentiments overshot its mark. Everyone concerned in the war came in for his share in the general vituperation, and the newspapers daily slew reputations that had been won on hard-fought battle-fields. The inky Rhadamanthus spared none, weighed no evidence, believed only its Special Correspondent."†

In his *Sanitary Contrasts of the Crimean War*, 1883, Surgeon-General Longmore, C.B., made some comprehensive observations on medical affairs in the Crimea, from which the following extracts may be quoted:

"The root of the evils which led to the lamentable condition of the British troops in the hospitals, no less than in the camps, during the first part of the war, was undoubtedly the neglect of the old maxim, to be prepared for war in time of peace. This neglect existed in all departments of the Army—in none more so than in the Medical Department. Nothing was ready for a state of war. Individuals were not blamable for this. Successive Governments—the system of military arrangements—the country at large—were as blamable as individuals. The lessons in hospital administration which had been gained at great cost of money and life during the campaigns in the early part of the century had been cast aside. Had the recorded experience and recommenda-

* *Life of Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, by S. Lane-Poole, vol. ii., p. 387.

† *Ibid.*, p. 391.

tions of Army Surgeons who had served during the Peninsular Wars been acted upon, there would have been an organized Army Hospital Corps, suitable field-hospital establishments, suitable field-hospital transports, suitable field equipment, adequate in amount and ready at call for service; but there were none of these when the campaign commenced."*

"The particular causes of the excessive sickness among the British troops during the first winter may be sufficiently gathered from the evidence collected at the time of the war. A considerable portion of the troops had been weakened by their previous stay in the notoriously unhealthy valleys of Bulgaria, where malarial influences were rife, and cholera and choleraic diarrhœa had prevailed. . . . Yet that they had lost in Bulgaria much of their power of resistance against disease has been shown conclusively by Dr. Aitken in his careful analysis of 'the effects of the twelve weeks' residence in Bulgaria on the subsequent health of the troops in the Crimea.'

"After the landing followed the bivouacking without tents or cover, every one lying and sleeping on the damp ground, and subsequently the hardships, privations, and sufferings of the winter siege—the exposure to cold, and the loss of rest, in the trenches and on picquet duty at night; the ill-suited clothing, the tight coatee and closely-fitting trousers of that time; the want of fuel; the want of means of personal cleanliness; the excessive overwork, increased, as the numbers lessened, among those who remained; the want of adequate nutriment, all hygienic rules outraged in respect to sufficiency, quality, variety, and cooking of the food, the rations consisting almost exclusively for a considerable time of salt meat and biscuit without vegetables. Under such conditions, can it be wondered that scurvy, fevers, and bowel disorders were prevalent, and that the ability of the men to resist the depressing agencies around them became almost wholly

* *Sanitary Contrasts of the Crimean War*, by Surgeon-General Longmore, C.B., p. 19.

exhausted? The elements, too, seemed to combine with the other evil influences in adding to the misery of the overworked troops; for the hurricane which occurred in the middle of November, sweeping away for the time such shelter as had been then got, inundating the ground with moisture, together with the bitter cold which accompanied the storm, aggravated the sufferings of all ranks; while the loss of the large vessel, the *Prince*, with the stores of woollen underclothing contained in it, constituted quite a calamity at the time."*

"The possession of a well-organized and sufficient transport for ensuring regularity in the conveyance of supplies to the camps from the port of arrival, and knowing how to keep that transport, both vehicles and animals, in an efficient condition throughout the winter, seemed to be the foundation of the relative efficiency of the French Army, while the British Army was melting away by its side; for it enabled the troops to have the requisite food, clothing, and warmth for maintaining a fair average standard of health among them with regularity, and prevented the hospital establishments—which were well organized, so far as surgical attendance, equipment, and nursing were concerned—from being taxed by demands beyond what they were quite adequate to meet."†

"The old hospitals, which from their overcrowded and defective conditions had themselves become foci of virulent disease, were converted into what they were intended to be, places for recovery from sickness and restoration to health."‡

Surgeon-General Longmore reproduced also Miss Nightingale's reply to the Royal Commissioners in 1857 as follows:

"Miss Nightingale, when replying to certain questions addressed to her by the Royal Commissioners, who in 1857

* *Sanitary Contrasts of the Crimean War*, by Surgeon-General Longmore, C.B., pp. 20-21.

† *Ibid.*, p. 23. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

inquired into various matters affecting the sanitary state of the Army, has remarked on the available materials afforded by the Crimean War for instruction in the following terms: 'We have much more information on the sanitary history of the Crimean campaign than we have on any other. It is a complete example—history does not afford its equal—of an Army, after a great disaster arising from neglect, having been brought into the highest state of health and efficiency. It is the whole experiment on a colossal scale. In all other examples the last step has been wanting to complete the solution of the problem. We had, in the first seven months of the Crimean campaign, a mortality among the troops at the rate of 60 per cent. per annum from disease alone—a rate of mortality which exceeds that of the great plague in the population of London. We had, during the last six months of the war, a mortality among our *sick* not much more than among our *healthy* Guards at home, and *a mortality among our troops in the last five months two-thirds only of what it is among our troops at home.* Is not this the most complete experiment in Army hygiene? We cannot try this experiment over again for the benefit of inquiries at home, like a chemical experiment. It must be brought forward as an historical example.' "*

In some *Notes on Matters affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army, founded chiefly on the experience of the Late War,* and presented upon request by Miss Florence Nightingale in 1858 to the Secretary of State for War, we find the opinions of that lady as to the conduct of the Medical Establishment, and on various other matters connected with the hospital arrangements in the Crimea. In this document she stated:

" It is, we presume, the business of the Principal Medical Officer with the Army to report to its Commander the

* *Sanitary Contrasts of the Crimean War,* by Surgeon-General Longmore, C.B., p. 12.

state of its health, and both what he judges to be necessary to secure that health and to be likely to impair it, as well as to take steps to cure disease ; and that measures in this Department must be taken beforehand is as obvious as that the Artillery or Transport must be prepared beforehand.

" But, when the Army landed, where was the Principal Medical Officer ? In India. He did not leave England with the Army, as did the Commander of the Forces, Quartermaster-General, Adjutant-General, Commissary-General. Instead of accompanying the Forces, his preparations having been all made in England, or, what would have been better still, preceding them, the First Principal Medical Officer was appointed at Malta. He joined the Army at Scutari, after having been superseded, and having, in consequence, resigned before he left Malta. Thus, although he continued with the Army till the arrival of the next Principal Medical Officer from India, he could have little interest in originating suggestions which he would not see carried out.

" There were three Principal Medical Officers in the course of one month ; and on June 17th, 1854, Dr. Hall joined from India. Too late—as will presently be seen. . . . Dr. Hall writes a letter to Lord Raglan, from Varna, August 3rd, 1854, and again, August 11th, stating his requirements in the way of Transport. . . . The letter should have been written in March, or early in April, when Dr. Hall was in India. *This was no fault of his.*

" The Ambulance Waggons sent out, being too heavy, were all broken to pieces ; the Ambulance Corps had fallen off their animals, and were almost extinct—*the Army was actually without Transport.*"

Miss Nightingale also adduced the evidence of medical men as to the accommodation for the wounded after the Battle of the Alma. A letter from Surgeon Hearn, which she quoted, stated :

" There were no means of carrying the wounded off the field. , . . Destitute of bedding, of blankets, and of fuel,

it was impossible to produce or maintain even that degree of mere animal heat that was requisite for their recovery. Of what avail, I would ask, were Doctors and Physic in this deplorable state of things?"

On which Miss Nightingale remarked:

"Upon my personal experience I stand, and I declare that, judging from the condition of the men I saw, *these statements are the literal truth, and no more than the literal truth.*

"I would also, as far as my personal observation goes, *re-echo the statement of Dr. Alexander* that—

"'It is due to the Medical Officers, as well as to those in charge of medicines and purveyors' stores, to state that no men could have worked harder or performed more zealously their arduous and onerous duties (both in Bulgaria, during the ravages of Cholera, as well as in the Crimea), and that none of them have spared either trouble or inconvenience in doing all they could to obtain whatever would tend to the comforts of their sick.'"

"In writing to Dr. Smith, June 23rd, he [the Principal Medical Officer] says he was in incessant personal communication, importuning everyone to carry out his improvements."

In a note appended to this last statement she most emphatically added: "*From having seen the same process at Scutari I can well believe it.*"

In the *Invasion of the Crimea*, Mr. A. W. Kinglake, the historian of the war, wrote at copious length on the whole subject. The following paragraphs refer more particularly to the medical matters with which Sir John Hall was concerned:

"The failure of our war administration in all those successive stages would seem to have resulted quite naturally from that want of commanding authority by which, as we saw, Dr. Andrew Smith remained baffled when addressing his appeals to the Horse Guards. The London Departments provided no efficient ambulance

Corps, appropriated no sufficient, no well-fitted vessels to the care and transport of our stricken soldiery—sent out no artificers of the kind demanded—refused Admiral Boxer's wise prayer for a 'receiving ship' at Constantinople; and although, it is true, sending out a few of the men and the things that would be needed for general hospitals, they did not either construct any such institutions themselves or directly entrust the task to other servants of State. Amongst the men sent out, there were Medical Officers of various ranks, though not in sufficing numbers, and there were also Purveyors, not apparently so chosen or so instructed that they would prove ready instruments for either effecting purchases or employing hired labour. But for attendance upon our sick and wounded men in hospital, the war administration at first made no provision at all; and in the absence of hospital orderlies duly trained for the work, our people had to rely upon the clumsy old plan of drawing sergeants and soldiers from the ranks to make them do the duty of nurses. But even this was not all that the perverseness of the system contrived; for when the orderlies, and the sergeants especially, had, after a while, learnt their work, and become at last more or less skilled in the performance of their hospital duties, they used to be called back to their Regiments, and replaced by uninstructed beginners. Our administrators did not even take care that the Principal Medical Officer should be opportunely at hand; for, to head the Medical Staff forming part of Lord Raglan's Army, they thought fit to appoint Dr. Hall—an Officer then serving in India, and not destined to reach the Levant in time to see the beginning of our general hospital system.

"So the medical care of our troops when brought out to the East was administered during some weeks through the old Regimental machinery."*

"When Lord Raglan, moving up to Bulgaria, could no longer in person be watching our hospital system at

* *Invasion of the Crimea*, by A. W. Kinglake. Edition 1880; vol. vi., pp. 144-146.

Scutari, he there left in command Major Sillery; and, although the power of this Officer might have borne at the time fair proportion to his then sphere of action, it was far from being commensurate with the hugely augmented burthen laid on him a few months later, when the overcharged Scutari hospitals were receiving shiploads and shiploads of sick and wounded men brought down from empoisoned and war-stricken lands, where epidemic and other diseases and cruel privations and hardships were largely surpassing battles in the work of disabling and slaying. . . .

"Without being unduly trustful, he [Lord Raglan] apparently might have felt very sure that his subordinates would duly apprise him of any serious wants affecting our Levantine hospitals which could not be met on the spot; and since no complaints from these quarters found their way to him in the Crimea, he had evidently some right to conclude that all must be going on well. He did not, however, thus trust to merely negative proof, for in October he despatched to the Levant his Principal Medical Officer with instructions to inquire into the state of the hospitals. Dr. Hall, obeying these orders, went down to the Levant, passed some weeks in examining the hospitals, and reported that their state was 'as good as could be expected'; but this was not all, for whilst at Constantinople (after having been wounded at Inkerman), Sir George Brown reported to Lord Raglan that he had minutely examined our hospital establishment at Scutari and 'found it in a very satisfactory state.' With such information to guide him, and none other as yet counteracting it, Lord Raglan perforce believed that all must be going on well. It was only from civilians and from England that Lord Raglan afterwards learnt what we now indeed know to have been the true state of our Levantine hospitals, and we shall see him then taking a step which proved to be exactly the right one."*

* *Invasion of the Crimea*, by A. W. Kinglake. Edition 1880; vol. vi., pp. 148-150.

"Ill-salaried, ill-treated by the State, schooled down into habits of resignation, and bending under a load of professional work which they performed with a generous zeal, the Medical Officers acted as though there should be no discontent—as though not only on behalf of themselves, but also on behalf of their patients, they ought to accept all the miseries which crowded in on the hospitals as dispensations resulting from war—dispensations to be borne with that silent, that soldierly fortitude which disdains the resource of complaint; and they even, indeed, went the length (like Brown and Cathcart at Inkerman) of refusing to acknowledge a want. Dr. Hall's approving report of our Bosphorus hospitals must apparently have owed its source partly to this soldier-like habit of mind, but also in part to a notion that 'war-time' excused huge shortcomings."*

"The warm and decisive language in which Sir George Brown bore witness to the 'satisfactory state' of our Bosphorus hospitals must be accounted for in a different way. At the time when he visited them, the improvements resulting from the new and powerful element acceding on the 4th of November, had already made so great a progress that, in the eye of one not having a very high standard of hospital excellence, and only examining the internal administration, and doing this perhaps superficially, there might seem to be little room for unfavourable criticism."†

"The 'Medical Headquarters' at Scutari were in the 'General Hospital'; but except when he paid a visit of inspection, the Principal Medical Officer used to be at the seat of war."‡

"After lengthened inquiry it seemed to have been considered that Major Sillery, and some of the others concerned in the hospital administration, had *constructively* a right to draw for all the funds needed; but candid men will admit that the possession of this constructive

* *Invasion of the Crimea*, by A. W. Kinglake. Edition 1880; vol. vi., p. 151.

† *Ibid.*, footnote on pp. 151-152. ‡ *Ibid.*, footnote on p. 148.

authority was not like having the power conferred by written orders and warrants."*

Another historian of the war, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke, K.C.M.G., R.E., who adapted Mr. Kinglake's work to the use of military students, has given the essence of the whole trouble about the medical difficulties in the Crimea in these paragraphs:

"There was a Department subordinated to several others which, nevertheless, must be examined. The London or Headquarters Staff of the united Army and Ordnance Medical Departments consisted of a Director-General, with one assistant, and (in general) about six clerks. This humble little office was in itself well ordered, but Dr. Andrew Smith, its able, laborious chief, lived always in acknowledged subjection to at least five Departments of State; and although he might be wanting supplies kept in store by another Department, he could not go thither straight in order to lodge his requisition, but had to set it travelling circuitously, and begin by a prayer to the Horse Guards.

"By not only stinting the remuneration of its Medical Officers, but keeping their numbers so low as to have to refuse them too often a short leave of absence, even when health and life were at stake, the parsimony of the State brought down these good public servants to a habit of mute, soldierly resignation, which, because carrying with it a tendency to endure the most terrible evils instead of struggling fiercely against them, was destined to prove but too baneful under the trials of war. And again, as concerned all the functionaries empowered to spend public moneys for the medical wants of our Army, they had been so constantly, so rigidly schooled by a straitening system of audit as to become cramped by long habit, and incapable of launching out suddenly into free, unrestrained expenditure."†

* *Invasion of the Crimea*, by A. W. Kinglake. Edition 1880; vol. vi., footnote on p. 151.

† Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, abridged by Sir G. S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., R.E., pp. 412-413.

" The evil of the system was specially conspicuous in the cases where a Department subordinated to others, yet called upon to initiate measures, had to work, as it were, uphill, by appealing to one of its rulers. Thus, if the Director-General of the Army Medical Department wished to furnish to our hospitals in the East some kinds of supplies, as, for instance, wine, sago, arrowroot, he had to send his purpose revolving in an orrery of official bodies ; for, first, he well knew, he must move the Horse Guards, and the Horse Guards must move the Ordnance, and the Ordnance must set going the Admiralty, and the Admiralty must give orders to its Victualling Office, and its Victualling Office must concert measures with the Transport Office, and the Transport Office (having only three transports) must appeal to our private shipowners, in the hope that sooner or later they would furnish the sea-carriage needed ; so that the original requisition becoming at last disentangled, might emerge after all from the labyrinth, and—resulting in an actual visible shipment of wine, sago, arrowroot—begin to receive fulfilment."*

" When, so early as the 11th of May, 1854, the Director-General submitted to the Horse Guards, in writing, a well-considered plan for ensuring the careful removal of the wounded and sick by appropriating for the purpose beforehand due means of sea-transport ; when he showed the expediency of stationing in convenient ports ships prepared for the reception of patients ; and when, finally, speaking out in good time, he urged the establishment of hospitals at well-chosen spots, his appeals remained unanswered, and apparently provoked no attention. When he asked that competent and able-bodied men should be taken from the Army to act as hospital orderlies, he was overruled. When, as a substitute for the English soldiers thus refused him, he proposed recourse to a people whom he judged to be apt for the work, he was met by an objection which, unless put forward in jest, was itself fair game

* Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, abridged by Sir G. S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., R.E., pp. 415-416.

for the jester. When, speaking with ample knowledge of the subject, he urged his well-founded conviction that men taken from the class of 'pensioners' would prove grossly unfit for the tasks of hospital orderlies, he gave the warning in vain; and from the pensioners—from the pensioners only—the hospital orderlies were chosen. The Officer primarily answerable for the error of disregarding these appeals was the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, but the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, and many more, though not chargeable in the same distinct sense as Lord Hardinge, might still have been called to account for not having pressed the adoption of some such wise, opportune measures as those recommended by the Director-General; and the responsibility of public men thus became so dispersed, that just blame, if descending at all, fell in gentle and harmless spray."*

"A delinquent more guilty than any has been found, as we saw, in the State—in that State which had deadened the impact of an able Director's will by making him a servant where it ought to have made him the master, by diffusing among many the power that should have been concentrated in his hands; and, finally, by holding him out to Whitehall, in the expressive language of 'salary' columns, as a public servant, hired cheaply to do an everyday kind of work—a public servant not empowered or encouraged to exert a wide sway in even the routine course of business, still less to become the disturber—the bold, headstrong, ruthless disturber—of forms, habits, customs, regulations, that England beyond measure needs when she passes from stagnant peace to court the troubles of war."†

In his work, *The Crimean Commission and the Chelsea Board*, which was a review of the proceedings and Report of the Board referred to in the last chapter, Colonel Sir Alexander Tulloch, K.C.B., wrote as follows:

* Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, abridged by Sir G. S. Clarke, K.C.M.G., R.E., p. 416.

† *Ibid.*

"When Sir John McNeill and I arrived at Balaklava, on the 12th of March, and found that no means had been taken to enable the Commissariat to issue fresh bread to the troops, or even to the sick, I immediately set about the erection of ovens, under the circumstances stated in the Memorandum, p. 20, of Appendix to Commissioners' Report. To obtain bread, however, it was not necessary that it should have been baked at Balaklava; subsequent experience showed that, during all the winter, it might have been brought from Constantinople and issued in good condition; but it was only when the hot weather was setting in, that this expedient was resorted to, which limited the quantity obtained from that source to a few weeks' supply in April and May."*

In the biography† of Sir W. H. Russell, lately published, it is shown in the account of the Crimean War that there was chaos in the British Commissariat and medical arrangements from the beginning, long before Dr. Hall arrived upon the scene. On the 8th of April, 1854, Russell wrote from Gallipoli: "The management is infamous, and the contrast offered by our proceedings to the conduct of the French most painful. Could you believe it—the sick have not a bed to lie upon?"‡ He had already from Malta warned the authorities, and called for "plenty of doctors. Let us have an overwhelming army of medical men to combat disease. . . . Do not suffer our soldiers to be killed by antiquated imbecility."§ He was treated as a camp-follower at Varna, and in the "radiant but poisonous meadows of Aladyn and Devna," where the Army was encamped. The position of a War Correspondent being novel, his power was not fully realized by himself or by the Army and its Officers. Russell wrote of Lord Raglan as utterly incompetent, but always maintained that his letters did not exceed legitimate criticism, and were not unfair to

* *The Crimean Commission and the Chelsea Board*, by Colonel Sir Alexander Tulloch, K.C.B., pp. 129-130. Edition 1880.

† By J. B. Atkins, vol. i., p. 131. ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Raglan. His object was to expose generally the mismanagement of the Army in the Crimea. The winter sufferings of the Army were described in detail as being caused by want of preparation in respect of clothing, food, hutting, transport, etc., by exposure to the rigour of an unusually severe season, and by overwork. "He cannot tell the truth now; it is too terrible," he wrote. In January, 1855, he pictured the Army as being to all intents and purposes, with the exception of a very few Regiments, used up, destroyed, and ruined. The statistics of illness in the Army were fearful. The number of the sick rose from 7,000 in July, 1854, at Varna to 23,000 in the Crimea in January, 1855. Russell's letters created intense indignation in England, and, when the newspapers reached the Crimea, he incurred much enmity, and his independence was not conducive to his personal popularity. He was accused of giving information to the enemy by his letters to the *Times*—of making, in fact, perilous disclosures. But he continued to write fully and freely. The Aberdeen Ministry was turned out on Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the state of the Army before Sebastopol. Russell's letters had supplied the information. In the second winter, 1855-56, the troops had no such hardships to endure as in the first winter, and were well clothed.

CHAPTER XVIII

LAST YEARS

SIR JOHN HALL'S responsible position during the Crimean War was the zenith of his public career. The long campaign brought him fame, but with it many hardships, for, like most of the officials during that trying time, he was excessively overworked. Sailing direct from India to the seat of war, and placed in command over the heads of several Medical Officers who coveted the high position of Chief of the Army Medical Department, he found that the men under him were not those of his own choice, but mainly inexperienced, inefficient, and sometimes reluctant helpers. Even those who were associated with him in the Crimea seem to have done little or nothing in his defence when public feeling in England was aroused against the Department. As an instance we may cite the case of Dr. Dumbreck, who, as we have seen, gave evidence before the Commissioners on the Crimean hospitals, and was requested on his arrival in England to make a public explanation in the *Times* concerning the mistake that had arisen with regard to that evidence, but moral persuasion seems to have been necessary to induce him to take this step.

Lady Hall was an ardent champion of her husband's reputation. As she was a cousin of Sir (then Mr.) George W. Dasent, who married a sister of Mr. J. T. Delane, Editor of the *Times*, and afterwards became Assistant-Editor of that journal, she was able to keep herself in constant communication with her connections on the *Times* staff, and did all she could to remove the

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stigma cast on the head of the Crimean Medical Department by this silence on the part of his colleague. The following letter written by Sir George Dasent to Lady Hall shows the view which that gentleman took of the matter :

" *July 27th*, 1855.

" I have inserted your husband's letter. With regard to yours, it is founded not on any *actual* statement of Dr. Dumbreck, but on a leading article in the *Globe* authenticated by no one.

" I fancied, of course, when I heard that Dr. Dumbreck had made a statement in the *Globe* of the 17th that I should see something signed with his name and therefore tangible, but I find only an anonymous declaration in a leading article, which for all the purposes of contradiction or defence is utterly worthless. If Dr. Dumbreck wishes to save his own character, and to defend your husband, why has he not come forward like a man and spoken the truth on a plain matter of fact ? When he has mustered up courage to take this honest course, let him write a letter signed with his name, not to the Editor of the *Globe*—a paper which has a sale of about 1,200 copies—but to the Editor of the *Times*, and then there will be some chance of the world knowing what he says.

" As the case now stands, no one except the writer of the article in the *Globe* and I and you know that Dr. Dumbreck has made any statement at all."

He did not feel satisfied until he had rendered some practical service to the cause in which his cousin Lady Hall was interested, and the matter was much bruited about in the clubs. Within five days the long-expected letter appeared over the signature of Dr. Dumbreck, in the *Times* of the 1st of August, 1855, to let the world know that the slur caused by the distortion of his evidence had been removed from Sir John Hall's name :

" SIR,

" In reference to a recent letter from Dr. Hall, I trust you will do me the favour to admit into your journal the following observations :

"The Committee of the House of Commons, in its Report on the evidence examined in regard to the Sebastopol inquiry, deduces from my statement that I fully confirmed the conclusions arrived at by that body—namely, that Dr. Hall had misrepresented the condition of the hospital establishment at Scutari in his communications addressed to the authorities in this country in October last.

"A glance at my evidence will prove that this is a most erroneous deduction therefrom.

"I left the Crimea on the 17th of November, and on my voyage to England touched merely at the intermediate ports. I mentioned this in a reply to the question of Mr. Roebuck, and the following extract from the examination will sufficiently attest that I could not, from my personal knowledge of the hospitals at Scutari, have given any information in regard to their state at the period when their management was inculpated by Messrs. Stafford, Osborne, and others.

"'Question 11,459 (Mr. Layard).—On your return to this country how many days were you at Scutari?—I was very ill, and in passing Scutari I attempted to land, and I got a little way, but I found that I was so unwell that I went on board ship again, and I scarcely saw anyone. Dr. Cumming came on board to see me.'

"In the course of my examination I was led to comment on the position of these hospitals presented by a witness, to whose account of these establishments I had been a listener; but I am so far from fully confirming the inference drawn by the committee from my words, that I entirely dissent from the application of them, by which I have been most unfairly placed in seeming antagonism to Dr. Hall."

The careful reader will have noticed that the last paragraph of this letter of Dr. Dumbreck was taken as the text for the defence of Dr. Hall by the *Globe* of the 1st of August, 1855.*

* P. 394.

From facts like these some idea can be formed of the difficulties Sir John Hall had to face in the Crimea and afterwards. The notebooks kept by him during the campaign make it clear that those under him did not always carry out his orders, and it was manifestly impossible for the Inspector-General of numerous hospitals to see personally that every detail was correctly executed. As it was, he worked indefatigably. For lack of secretariat assistance he often sat up till 1 and 2 a.m. writing despatches, and 6 a.m. the same morning would see him in the saddle. During the whole campaign he was never absent, and was present at several actions in the field. The result of such strenuous labour was that when the war was over, and the strain upon his active energies ended, his health broke down upon his arrival in England.

His intention had been to return to India, and also to write from his papers the medical history of the Crimean Campaign, a work which his brother Officers fully expected him to undertake; but in 1859, while living near Dawlish in Devonshire, where he and his family had rented a country place, he was seized with a slight stroke of paralysis, which rendered continuous mental exertion impossible for him, and forced him to change his plans. He gave up the Service, and all hope of any further public career, sold his London house and furniture, and for the remainder of his life lived at various places on the Continent, in the company of his wife and two little daughters. In this way he resided during some years in Paris, Stuttgart, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Italy.

To show the changes that have been made in Army regulations, it may be mentioned that in Sir John Hall's day an Officer, even if on the retired list, had to obtain formal leave from the War Office before he could proceed to, or take up his residence in, a foreign country. Likewise, in moving from one foreign country to another, a permit had to be granted by the Military authorities at home. The documents bestowing such leave were generally couched in similar terms to the following :

HORSE GUARDS
"S.W.,
"*June 13th*, 1862.

"*Proceeding abroad*
"SIR,

"I have the commands of His Royal Highness, the General Commanding-in-Chief, to acquaint you, that Her Majesty has been pleased to grant to you permission to proceed to Germany, during a period not exceeding two years.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your very obedient servant,
"A. HORSFORD.

"P.S.—It is to be understood that Officers travelling are not at liberty to offer their services, or volunteer for any service with foreign troops.

"SIR JOHN HALL, K.C.B., M.D.,
"United Service Club."

Another communication giving permission to remain abroad for a further period runs thus :

"HORSE GUARDS,
"S.W.,
"*July 17th*, 1865.

"*Proceeding abroad.*
"SIR,

"I have the commands of His Royal Highness, the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, to acquaint you, that Her Majesty has been pleased to grant you permission to continue your residence in Sicily, for a period not exceeding two years.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"A. HORSFORD.

"P.S.—It is to be understood that Officers travelling are not at liberty to offer their services with foreign troops, or accept any military employment.

"INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF HOSPITALS HALL,
"Catania,
"Sicily."

In Germany Sir John Hall's health improved so much that he had some thoughts of returning to London, but the delicacy of his young daughter Lucy compelled him to remain abroad, first in Baden, then at the Lake of Geneva, next, in 1865, at Catania in Sicily. In Sicily, Count Contarello placed his picturesque villa on the slopes of Mount Etna at Sir John Hall's disposal for the summer months, and there he spent most of his time reading and superintending the education of his two daughters, to whom, as well as to his wife, he was passionately attached. It was in Germany that his daughter Alice (now Mrs. Simpson) laid the foundation of the training in music and languages which enabled her later in life to become a musician of repute and a linguist of considerable fame. A fierce outbreak of cholera in Sicily broke up their stay in that island, and they departed hurriedly for Lake Como. At Bellagio Sir John Hall suffered from slight heart-attacks, the illness which subsequently terminated his life. In October, 1865, he and his family left Lake Como for Pisa in Tuscany, where, on the 17th of January, 1866, after an illness of ten days, he died. There is no doubt that anxiety for his little daughter Lucy's health, and the constant travelling necessary to provide her with the change of climate required, contributed to hasten his end. He was buried in the English Protestant Cemetery at Leghorn.

Thus passed away at the age of seventy-one an honourable and upright servant of the Queen, one whose keen sense of duty upheld him through all the vicissitudes of his long and arduous military career. For forty-one years he served his country in various parts of the globe, and during that time he proved himself a hard worker, a strict disciplinarian, a man not of words, but of action. "Duty," was the keynote of his character; "Labour and Succeed" was his motto. The medical profession can count many a distinguished name upon its roll of honour, but none whose success has been more nobly and worthily attained.

Those who have read his biography thus far will have perceived in him throughout a man of method, reliability and independence, one who would probably have made his mark in whatever line of enterprise he might have chosen to adopt. His energy and devotion to his calling were shown unceasingly from the very first, when, as a youth on the field of Waterloo, he was early initiated into the medical duties of the battle-field. Fate seemed to lose no time in making a man of him, and shortly afterwards we find him working with indefatigable zeal amid the fever-stricken districts of the West Indies. Then ensued brief spells of duty in various garrison towns in England, appointments at Gibraltar and Barbados, after which the scene shifted to the Cape, where, as has been described, he was busily engaged, bearing his part amid the difficulties and dangers of the South African Wars of 1846-48 and 1850-52, winning distinction and the highest praise from his Military Commander and personal friend, the gallant Sir Harry Smith. Lastly, after a transfer to India, came the hasty summons to Europe, to take part in that struggle in the near East, which proved so much more difficult a task for the British troops than anyone at home had anticipated. A life of constant movement and variety, incessant toil, considerable personal danger, high responsibility, no leisure for rusting in idleness, absolute loyalty to duty—such is the impression made by his career. Even to the end Sir John Hall was a great traveller, for when, weary of the dust of battle and the labours of the Medical Service, he was compelled through failing health to lay down his high office, he spent the years of his retirement, as has been related, in short residences in Germany, and at many of the various beauty-spots of Switzerland and Italy. It would have been strange if so indefatigable a wanderer had breathed his last beneath an English roof, and it seems but fitting that his name should make one more in the long list of those famous Englishmen who have been laid to rest in foreign earth. His life-story should

prove an inspiration to the younger generation, who should find it encouraging in the highest degree to reflect that, with no aid but that of perseverance and devotion to work, one may attain the very highest point of a noble profession. Sir John Hall had no direct lofty lineage to help him on his path of progress, no great patrons to give his career an upward impetus. Nor was he ever a flatterer of the great, but placed his faith in the steady, independent performance of his allotted tasks as the best claim to promotion. With his contemporary Scott he might have said: "My birth was neither distinguished nor sordid. According to the prejudices of my country it was esteemed *gentle*, as I was connected, though remotely, with ancient families both by my father's and mother's side." All the greater honour to him that, unaided save by his own manly endeavour, he reached the shining summit of success—like those Englishmen of whom their own poet has written:

> "Not once or twice in our rough island-story
> The path of duty was the way to glory."

A strict enforcer of discipline among his subordinates, Sir John Hall never spared himself in the many difficult positions in which he found himself placed. In the Kafir War, when several of his medical comrades broke down under the strain, and he himself wrote that the duty was so severe that no one timid or nervous was fit for it, he remained doggedly at his post. Again, in the Crimean campaign the same history was repeated; several of his subordinates proved unequal to the efforts demanded of them, but Sir John, though harassed by harsh criticism from England, and though a considerably older man than most of his colleagues, remained at his work undaunted until the conclusion of peace. The result upon his constitution, strong as it naturally was, of such unceasing effort, was seen in the paralysis which, soon after his return, compelled his retirement from public life.

Though a stern disciplinarian, he was considerate to those under his authority, and highly appreciative of their services. The nurses in the Crimea, especially Miss Wear and Mrs. Bridgman, bore eloquent testimony to his great and uniform kindness towards them. Over and over again throughout the story of his life it is evident that familiarity with pain and suffering, disease and death, produced in him no spirit of callousness or indifference. He was ever compassionate of the sick and weak, not hardened by his work amid camps and seats of war.

An extract translated from an Italian journal, the *Provincia di Pisa*, of the 4th of February, 1866, shows the esteem in which he was held by the foreign Press :

" The 17th of January, 1866, was the last day of the life of Sir John Hall, one of the most distinguished men of the English Military Medical fraternity. Gifted with a strong constitution and with an iron will, he had, for reasons of study and in the exercise of his profession as Military Medical Officer, traversed the most distant regions of the globe, accumulating immense scientific knowledge and a great practice in his profession. A doctor's calling demands much courage and resolution, but the surgeon, and more especially the surgeon who has to follow the vicissitudes of campaigns, needs to be inspired by the same valour which sustains brave men in the midst of war. Sir John Hall possessed in abundance both the one and the other, so that in those wars which England had to wage against savage nations and in others, he found himself often thrown into the midst of very grave dangers, which he heroically confronted, accomplishing to the very utmost the mission that had been entrusted to him. The reward which was dearest to the heart of the honest doctor was his, namely, the gratitude, almost amounting to veneration, of all those who experienced the benefit of his solicitude. His was the esteem of his companions in arms ; he was overloaded

with honours by the English and other Governments, distinctions which, though they only degrade those who have no worthy claim to wear them, still further honour him who does great and magnanimous deeds by power of intellect and in goodness of heart. He would certainly have continued in his honourable toil if the need of rest and the health of one of his daughters had not determined him otherwise. Although ill with contraction of the orifice of the aorta, with eccentric hypertrophy of the left ventricle, he would not pay attention to his own malady, but devoted all his skill to his favourite child. Having come to Pisa to enjoy the mildness of the climate, tempered even in the winter season with the warmth of its soft and smiling spring, he nevertheless grew worse every day, finally developing tumours and torturing dyspnœa, which obliged him to confine himself to his room. At this extreme stage Drs. P. Bartolini and D. Feroci were called in, who would have done everything possible to save the life of their illustrious confrère, but in spite of their efforts a grave complication ensued, incurable by any medical skill. Bearing unspeakable suffering with calmness and resignation, and with a smile upon his face, this just man took leave of the friends standing weeping around him at a quarter-past ten on the day mentioned, with a smile and a calmness betraying the inward hope of meeting again in a happier and more splendid abode.

"A French journal giving the sad intelligence, spoke thus of the deceased: 'Sir John Hall, Doctor of Medicine, Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, Inspector-General of Hospitals, died at Pisa on the 17th of January, 1866, at the age of seventy-one. He had served in Flanders in the campaign of 1815, in Kafraria in the campaign of 1847 at the head of the Medical Department under Sir George Barclay, was decorated with a medal and thanked in a General Order. In 1848 he accompanied Sir Harry Smith across the Orange River as Principal Medical Officer of the force employed against the Boers; he was present at the Battle of Boom Platz; he was

especially mentioned in despatches by Sir Harry for his eminent services in the field, and was again thanked in a General Order; he was again in Kafraria under Sir Harry Smith during the campaign of 1851, and while in India was again thanked; he served as Principal Medical Officer of the Army of the Orient from the 18th of June, 1854, to the 5th of July, 1856, without leaving the field or missing a single day's duty. He was present at the action of Bulgenack, on the field of Mackenzie, at the Battle of the Alma (mentioned in despatches), at Balaklava, at Inkerman, at Tchernaya, at the taking of Balaklava, at the siege and fall of Sebastopol, at the capture of the trenches at the assault on the Redan. He was decorated with the medal with four clasps, created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, and Officer of the Legion of Honour, a Chevalier of the Third Class of the Medjidié, and also decorated with the Turkish medal.'

"May his virtues prove to be an example and an incentive to well-doing to those who pass through the ranks of the medical profession, and finding there disappointment and difficulties, feel their love for the noble calling grow cold; may they bear witness that medicine, like religion, has its martyrs and its glories, for the honest man cares not for calumnies nor the failure to obtain rewards, but finds his consolation in the simple performance of his duty; may they testify that it is possible, by truly persevering in duty, to overcome many difficulties and to achieve fame and distinction if animated by the desire for these things. Sir John Hall died honoured and lamented, but the greatest eulogy that can be paid to his memory is this—that all agree in declaring that he was able to overcome the difficulties which he met by the strength of his will, and that in the most difficult tasks which were entrusted to him he never failed to do his duty."

It may be mentioned here that Sir John Hall was a Freemason. He left no son, his family consisting

of two daughters, the older of whom, Lucy, survived him only three months. Lady Hall died in London in 1907 at the ripe old age of ninety-one. The notice of her death appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 24th of April, 1907, as follows :

" Lady Lucy Campbell Hall, widow of the late Sir John Hall, K.C.B., died at her residence, 14, Cadogan Court, on the 21st of April, at the age of ninety-one, in possession of all her faculties. She had seen four monarchs crowned, and was descended from the Royal Kings of Scotland, a great-granddaughter of the Earl of Stirling, so romantically associated with the American War of Independence."

Lady Hall claimed descent from an ancient family of Scotland, as the great-granddaughter of William Alexander, who took a prominent part in the American War of Independence, commanding the forces on the side of the colonists against the English. This William Alexander was declared by an Edinburgh jury in 1759 to be the nearest heir of the last Earl of Stirling, a title which he afterwards bore. The earldom of Stirling, round which so many claims have gathered, was conferred in 1633 on the celebrated poet and author, Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, son of Alexander Alexander of Menstrie, and grandson of Andrew Alexander, also of Menstrie. He was highly honoured by King James VI., and in 1621 received a grant of the Territory of Nova Scotia by charter. He had also charters of the lordship of Canada (1628) and of various districts in Scotland, and held many high Government appointments, including those of Secretary of State for Scotland, Keeper of the Signet, Commissioner of the Exchequer, etc. From him the peerage descended through William, his grandson, who was the second Earl ; Henry, third Earl, uncle of the former Earl ; Henry, fourth Earl, son of the former ; and Henry, fifth Earl, eldest son of the former. The latter nobleman dying without issue, the

earldom remained vacant until the title was claimed and borne for a time by William Alexander, Commander of the American troops in the War of Independence, whom Lady Hall claimed as her great-grandfather.*

Lady Hall was well connected on her mother's side. Her mother belonged to the Clan Mackay. A recognized authority on clan matters, the Rev. Angus Mackay, shows† her to be the granddaughter of George Mackay of Handa, afterwards of Bighouse, who had a company in the Duke of Gordon's North Fencibles in 1778, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Reay Fencibles, and died at Scotstoun in 1798. He married Louisa Campbell, who died 1834, portioner of Bighouse, and purchased from the other portioners the remainder of the estate. They had twenty-one children, of whom the seventeenth, Hariet Marion, married Harry Hackshaw, a West Indian planter, and died in 1877 in her ninety-second year, the last survivor of this large family. Her daughter Lucy married first Mr. D. F. Sutherland and secondly Sir John Hall.

This George Mackay of Handa, Lady Hall's maternal grandfather, was grandson of the Hon. Charles Mackay, son of the first Lord Reay, and was the head of the branch of the clan known as the Sandwood Mackays. The descent of Donald, the first Lord Reay, can be traced back at least as far as A.D. 1210. Louisa Campbell, wife of George Mackay of Handa, and grandmother of Lady Hall, was the daughter of Colin Campbell of Glenure, who was assassinated at Ballachulish, and whose tragic story supplies the chief incident in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped*. She inherited in part from her mother Janet Mackay the estate of Bighouse in Sutherlandshire, and her marriage with George Mackay of Handa brought back the rightful name to the old estate. Her descent

* See Alexander, Viscount and Earl of Stirling, in *Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*, by Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King of Arms; also *Dictionary of National Biography* (1855), vol. i., pp. 275-280.

† *The Book of Mackay*, new edition, by the Rev. Angus Mackay, Free Church Minister of Westerdale, Halkirk, Caithness.

LIEUTENANT W. A. SIMPSON.

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can be traced back to William Mackay, who founded the family of Bighouse, and who was of the same stock on the male side as his nephew Donald, who became the first Lord Reay. Louisa Campbell's grandmother married Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Hugh Mackay, son of the third Lord Reay. There are no male descendants surviving from that union.

A short but interesting letter written by Lady Hall to her daughter Alice (Mrs. Simpson) shows the sentimental value attached to the possession of a little garment which had been for many years in her family's keeping

"I send you the christening cloth, one of my treasures. It is of fine old damask, and is said to have been bought at some sale of royal linen sold abroad. It was first used for my own dear father's christening and his sister. When my grandmother married a second time, it had like service for Aunt Dasent and her brothers. When I married, I begged it from my mother, as it was used when all our family were christened, and my grandmother had given it for my christening. I had it as Mrs. Sutherland, and then marked it Hall when I married your dear father. Both Lucy and you were honoured with its use, and now I would pass it on to you, to be used at your child's christening. Do you mark it Simpson, and as it is still in very fair order, if you take care of it, it may pass into another generation again through your children. My father was forty-five when I was born, so add this to my age, and you see already the respectable number of years it has. Only on christening or wedding days has it been used.

"First, two Hackshaws; second, four Irwins; third, six Hackshaws; fourth, two Halls—and now, please God, it will become Simpson."

The "Aunt Dasent" mentioned in this letter was the mother of Sir George Dasent, who, as we have seen, was connected with Mr. J. T. Delane, Editor of the *Times*. The Hackshaws, who also had the privilege of using the

christening cloth, were Lady Hall's father, Harry Hackshaw, his sister, and his children.

Sir John Hall's younger daughter, Alice, who was born at Mahableshwar (India), married in 1873 the Rev. William Simpson of the Indian Anglican Ecclesiastical Establishment, and lived with her husband for some years at Patna, Roorki, and several other places in India. Since becoming a widow she has travelled in America, Canada, and the Far East, and is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is at her request that this biography has been written. She has two daughters, the elder of whom, Elaine, is married to Herr Wölker in the service of the Kaiser. Frau Wölker has inherited some of her grandfather's wonderful adaptability to new environments, which makes her so popular in German society. Mrs. Simpson's younger daughter, Beatrice, who is unmarried, is well known to the poetic and artistic circles of New York and London. Her *Songs of the Elements* and other poems have been greatly admired by such an expert as Richard Le Gallienne in the *Times* of New York. Sir John Hall's only grandson is Lieutenant William Arthur Simpson of the Royal Artillery, on whom, let us hope, the mantle of his distinguished grandfather may one day fall.

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